

# THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

MARCH 1949

VOLUME XXXI

NUMBER ONE

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Subscriptions for THE ART BULLETIN should be sent to the College Art Association of America at 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. The price of THE ART BULLETIN is three dollars a number, ten dollars a year.

Articles and monographs for the new Supplement series should be addressed to the Editor of THE ART BULLETIN, Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University, Fogg Museum, Cambridge 38, Mass.; books for review should be addressed to the Editor for Book Reviews, College Art Association, 625 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed in the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., October 24, 1925, under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at the Post Office at Princeton, New Jersey, November 3, 1948.

F.A.



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# THE HELLENISTIC TRADITION IN NORTHWESTERN INDIA

BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.

**A**LTHOUGH art-historical analysis has done much to clarify the relationships between the so-called Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra and the sculpture of the Roman Empire, the precise nature of the connections between this outpost of Roman provincial art and the Hellenistic world remains as obscure as in the early days of romantic archaeology in India when it was the fashion to recognize actual specimens of Greek sculpture in the slate fragments brought to light within the shadow of the Khyber Pass.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the magnificent coins of Alexander's successors, the Hellenistic civilization of Bactria remains a mirage.<sup>2</sup> Proof of the existence of a "pre-Graeco-Buddhist" school of classical sculpture, to provide a background for the art of Gandhāra, is still eminently desirable.<sup>3</sup>

A wonderfully rounded picture of the material culture of northwestern India under Greek, Parthian, and Kushan rule is furnished by Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila.<sup>4</sup> They reveal the Parthians, rather than the Bactrian Greeks, as the real propagators of Hellenism in India and show their "Philhellenic" character more positively than any monuments yet found in Iran proper. The lowest strata in the city of Sirkap belong to the Greek occupation, but the period of great prosperity and expansion came during the Parthian rule from about 100 B.C. until the sack of the city by the Kushans in A.D. 60-65. The treasures that were found hidden away, as though at the alarm of a sudden invasion, include gold ornaments of Graeco-Roman as well as oriental shapes: the Parthians at this time were the intermediaries in trade between India and the Graeco-Roman civilization of western Asia. Some of these objects, like the hoard of Roman glass, metal, and plaster objects found by the French at Begram, were obviously importations.<sup>5</sup>

Of more immediate interest to us is a group of sculpture, antedating the Romanized product manufactured for the Kushan patrons of Buddhism, that has been known since the very first excavations at Taxila were reported by Sir John Marshall in 1913. It consists of a number of lime-plaster heads and decorative fragments from the Apsidal Temple in Sirkap and from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa, all of which are dateable in the period immediately before the Kushan sack of Taxila in A.D. 65.<sup>6</sup> This article will examine these fragments in their relation to Graeco-Roman art of the

<sup>1</sup> See V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, p. 116, note 1 and W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> More than forty years ago, Professor W. W. Tarn investigated the impress of Hellenistic civilization in Bactria and India, basing his conclusions on the scanty historical evidence, on the literary descriptions by classical and Chinese writers, and on the numismatic remains (Tarn, "Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India," *J.H.S.*, XX, 1902, pp. 269ff.). Professor Tarn's findings led him to the negative conclusion that Greek culture barely touched the regions where the successors of Alexander held their sway; in fact, the author states "that no one would ever have supposed that from the Bactrian Greeks, India could have learnt philosophy or science (*possibly art should be included*), had it not been for the coins" (*op.cit.*, pp. 292-293). J. H. Mahaffy is no less discouraging on this topic. He believes that the coinage has been taken too readily as evidence of a general Hellenistic culture: "It may have been an almost isolated Hellenistic feature" (*Silver Age of the Greek World*, Chicago, 1906, p. 36).

<sup>3</sup> The objects of actual Greek or Graeco-Roman workmanship that have been found in India are beyond the scope of this paper, although they are important in revealing a survival of a taste for western art forms in northwestern India from the Maurya period to the first century A.D. For the examples of Greek jewelry, metalwork, and *Kleinplastik* unearthed at Taxila, see Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1936, pp. 92ff. and the sections of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (hereafter referred to as *A.S.I., A.R.*) devoted to excavation at Taxila from the years 1912/13 through 1936. Similar finds of Graeco-Roman metal statuettes, Syrian glass, etc., unearthed by the French Mission at Begram in Afghanistan have been published by the late Joseph Hackin ("The 1939 Dig at Begram," *Asia*, October, 1940).

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Marshall, "Excavations at Taxila," *A.S.I., A.R.*, (especially volumes for 1912-13, 1929-30 and 1930-34).

<sup>5</sup> See above, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1912-13, pp. 13-14, 23-24, pls. v, xvii, xviii. The heads from the Apsidal Temple and the Dharmarājikā

Near East in the first century A.D. and their importance for the development of the later sculpture of Gandhāra.

First, it will be useful to summarize briefly the history of Taxila in the period to which our objects belong, primarily during the time of Parthian or Śaka domination. In the attempt to determine the chronology of the early eras in northwestern India, there has been endless competition among historians, each seeking to establish the supremacy of his individually preferred theory. I do not wish to summarize all of this vast body of material but shall review the conclusions of Marshall, Konow, and Bachhofer, who between them present the clearest picture of the situation.<sup>7</sup>

For our purposes the history of Taxila begins with the end of Greek rule and the annexation of the Punjab by the Śaka chieftain Maues in about 85-80 B.C. It is generally conceded that Maues, or Moga, was followed in or about 58 B.C. by Azes I, who, as Sir John Marshall suggests, may have been as much a Parthian as a Śaka. He was associated with the Parthian leader Vonones, who reigned in Arachosia while Maues was established in India. Azes consolidated the Partho-Śaka power as far as the Jumna River. About A.D. 19 the kingdoms of Taxila and Arachosia were united under a Parthian sovereign, Gondophares, famous as the prince who received the Apostle St. Thomas.<sup>8</sup> There is reason to believe that Gondophares annexed the Kabul Valley, thus momentarily arresting the southward expansion of the Kushans. Taxila was only one capital of this semi-legendary ruler, whose western domains included the fortress shrine of Kūh-i-Khwaja in Seistan. His kingdom was divided between a number of successors, among them his nephew, Abdagases, who ruled in the western Punjab; another of these satraps, Zeionises (Jihonika), is known to have ruled at Taxila, where a vase with his name and an inscription corresponding to the date A.D. 41 was found at Sirkap.<sup>9</sup> The Panjtar inscription of the year 122 (A.D. 65) records the presence of a Kushan Mahārāja in northwestern India, and this is probably to be taken as the date for the final overthrow of Parthian power in Taxila and the Punjab.<sup>10</sup> The inscriptions of the years 134 and 136 of the era of Azes (58 B.C.), corresponding to A.D. 76 and 78, reveal the Kushans as firmly established in Taxila and give a positive *terminus post quem* for their annexation of the Parthian Indian empire.<sup>11</sup>

Stūpa are only larger stucco equivalents of the late Hellenistic sculpture represented in small terracotta fragments from many northwest Indian sites and presumably dateable in this same general period. Such are the fragments, now in the Central Museum at Lahore, that seem to be related to Megarian ware. They are decorated with figures in relief of putti, and, on one, a scene which Sir John Marshall has identified as an episode from the story of Iphigenia (Marshall, "Archaeological Exploration in India, 1908-9," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 1060). With these fragments we may associate a number of small figures of Graeco-Roman workmanship from the site of Sari Dheri (Major D. H. Gordon, "Some Terracottas from Sari Dheri, Northwest Frontier Province," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LXII, 1932, pls. XIII and XIV; see also S. Corbiau, "New Finds in the Indus Valley," *Iraq*, IV, pp. 1-10). Single heads found at Akra, Sār-nāth, and Basarh belong to the same purely classical group (Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, I, pl. XIV, 35, 36; L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, New York [n.d.], pl. 13).

In an article that has come to my attention since the completion of this paper, Sir John Marshall has given a magisterial recapitulation of his ideas on the sculpture of the pre-Kushan period at Taxila: "Greeks and Śakas in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1947, pp. 3-32. There is only a brief mention of the heads treated in my article, but the other fragments from Sirkap and the early strata of the Dhar-marājikā Stūpa provide a complement to the material analyzed by me; i.e. the standing figure, reminiscent of a Hellenistic Nike type (Fig. 15), has the same relationship to late Greek and Augustan work as the heads discussed in this contribution.

<sup>7</sup> Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, pp. 14-25; S. Konow, *Corpus*

*Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, pt. 1, *The Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (hereafter referred to as C.I.I.), pp. xiii-lxxxi; Bachhofer, "On Greeks and Śakas in India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (hereafter referred to as J.A.O.S.), LXI, 1941, pp. 223-250. See also L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, Paris, 1930, chaps. V and VI.

<sup>8</sup> It was during the reign of Gondophares that Apollonius of Tyana visited Taxila, probably in A.D. 44; Herzfeld ("Sakastan," *Arch. Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IV, 2, 45, p. 113) has even suggested that the King Phraates mentioned by Philostratus (Apollonius, II, 26) may have been Gondophares himself. Apollonius' testimony, too often discounted, tells us quite clearly of the rule of a Parthian sovereign independent of Vardanes in the fourth decade of our era. Elsewhere (*Archaeological History of Iran*, London, 1935, p. 64), Herzfeld discusses Gondophares' attempt to raise Orthagnes, a candidate of his own choosing, to the Iranian throne.

<sup>9</sup> Konow, C.I.I., pp. 81-82 and my note 44.

<sup>10</sup> Konow, C.I.I., p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70 and *idem*, "Kalawan Copper Plate Inscription of the Year 134," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, p. 964. Konow has Wima Kadphises beginning his reign and an era of his own in A.D. 78-79, fifteen years after the conquest of Taxila by Kujula (Konow, "Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions," *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, p. 194). Whether we accept Kujula or Wima as the actual destroyer of the city of Sirkap, all authorities seem to agree on the year A.D. 65 as the *terminus post quem* for the remains in the Parthian city at Taxila. According to Ghirshman's recent calculations, Kujula Kadphises, the founder of the Kushan dynasty, did not die until A.D. 91 or 92 when he was succeeded by



Although a few Kushan remains have been found in the upper strata of the city of Sirkap, it appears that this town had been rather thoroughly destroyed by the invaders, who soon abandoned its ruins and established their own citadel at nearby Sirsukh. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that all the material found in the upper strata at Sirkap may be assigned to the period of Parthian supremacy.

In view of certain problems to be discussed later it is worth mentioning that the period of Parthian rule in the Punjab (ca. 75 B.C.-A.D. 65) coincides with the period of Roman expansion to the Iranian frontier and with the consolidation of the Empire under Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14). Presumably this period of Roman infiltration into Parthia, with the establishment of Phraates IV on the throne, led to the penetration into Iran and ultimately to the Parthian outposts in India of the style of art that united the furthest bournes of Augustus' world empire.

Turning now to an examination of the actual material evidence, the fragments with which we are specially concerned consist of twelve stucco heads and minor pieces unearthed in the precinct of the Apsidal Temple at Taxila.<sup>12</sup> With regard to the date of these remains, Sir John Marshall informs us: "In the debris of the courtyard both here and at other spots, numerous coins were unearthed belonging mainly to Kujula-Kadphises and Hermaeus with a few of earlier date mingled with them, and it appears practically certain that the building was already falling to decay in the latter part of the first century A.D. No coin later than Kujula-Kadphises has been found in the debris of this building, and none later than Wima Kadphises in the buildings round about."<sup>13</sup> Two heads, found in the periphery of the Dharmarājikā Stūpa (B12 and B16) should be added to this collection of pre-Kushan remains. These are the terracotta head of a youth and the stucco mask of a bearded man.<sup>14</sup>

The style of the majority of these sculptures might be described as Hellenistic. In certain aspects they belong to that semi-eclectic archaistic recrudescence of earlier Greek sculptural styles that we associate with the art of Augustus and his principate. The neo-Greek character of Augustan art is nowhere better illustrated than in the great frieze of Aphrodisias dateable between A.D. 14 and A.D. 29.<sup>15</sup> As all of the writers on this notable monument have pointed out, among the 175 protomes that make up the decoration of the frieze may be recognized heads characteristic of the styles of Polyclitus, Phidias, and Skopas, to say nothing of apparent portraits of Augustus and Tiberius. In all of them the concern for revealing the organic bony structure of the face and texture of its muscles has been suppressed somewhat in order to give them a generalized masklike character more appropriate to their function as subordinate elements in an ornamental architectural ensemble.

Of the heads from the Apsidal Temple at Taxila, the satyr (Fig. 1) is perhaps the most Hellenistic in the suggestion of dynamic animation wrought through the contracted brows and open mouth suggestive of the school of Pergamum. The head of a faun at Aphrodisias corresponds closely to this manner, even to the peculiar "winglike" conventionalization of the contorted brows (Fig. 2).<sup>16</sup>

Related to this style are a few fragments of Graeco-Parthian art from Iran proper: a number of

Wima (R. Ghirshman, "Fouilles de Begram," *J.A.*, 1943-45, p. 70). This writer makes Kujula the conqueror of Taxila, taking him to be the Kushan Mahārāja of the Panjtar inscription of A.D. 65 (*op.cit.*, p. 68). Bachhofer ("On Greeks and Śakas in India," *J.A.O.S.*, 1941, p. 242) stresses that no coins of Wima were found at Sirkap but makes him the conqueror of Taxila, explaining that Wima's money did not reach his enemies' capital in the course of his campaigns. He adds that "Kujula's money circulated in large quantities amongst the population of Sirkap, long before the city was taken by the Kushanas" (p. 240).

<sup>12</sup> Marshall, *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1912-13, pp. 23-24. General Cunningham's exploration of this site yielded fragments of "colossal seated figures" inside the Apsidal Temple (*A.S.I.*, Report

II, 1863-64, p. 127 and V, 1872-73, p. 74).

<sup>13</sup> Marshall, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14 and pl. va and b.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 18, 1937, pp. 1096-1097; G. Jacobi, "Aphrodisias," *Archeologischer Anzeiger*, 1938, pp. 748f.; *Revue archéologique*, 1938, pp. 229f.

<sup>16</sup> It is not at all surprising from what we know of the relations between late Roman and late Gandhāran art that this same technical convention appears in Roman portrait heads of Caracalla and even in the "Carmagnola" (Justinian II) of San Marco (see *Bull. d. Commissione Arch.*, Anno XX, 1933, p. 98, and R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrt Werke*, Berlin, 1932, fig. 48).



satyr heads, all presumably found in the neighborhood of Dinawar near Kirmanshah.<sup>17</sup> One of these was in Friedrich Sarre's collection in Berlin; two are in the Walters Gallery, Baltimore (Fig. 3); a fourth was in dealer's hands in Kirmanshah. The resemblance between these masks and the satyr from Sirkap is so striking that we are drawn to a theory that they originated in a common *Kulturkreis*.<sup>18</sup> All bear a stylistic family resemblance to the heads of the satyrs supporting the proscenium of the Theater of Dionysius at Athens.<sup>19</sup> In the Kirmanshah satyr masks, as in the head from Sirkap, the Hellenistic concern for evocation of pathos and inner feeling predominates over all idea of mere generalized architectonic structure.<sup>20</sup>

If the satyr mask from Sirkap is to be described as Pergamene, another fragmentary bearded mask from Sirkap (Fig. 6) and a head from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa (Fig. 7) are of a more generalized Phidian type, such as one may also recognize in the frieze of Aphrodisias (Fig. 8). Both from the points of view of type and medium, these heads will bear comparison with such Alexandrian stuccoes as the bust of Serapis from Alexandria.<sup>21</sup> It is significant in relation to the possible function of the Taxila heads that Poulsen asserts that this object served as a decorative medallion for a temple wall.<sup>22</sup>

The head from the Apsidal Temple, illustrated in Figure 11, with the scalp shaved except for a single lock of hair falling over the forehead is a local type of grotesque since it represents a variety of tonsure still affected by the Hazara tribesmen of Afghanistan. It survives as a grotesque or demon type in many later examples of Gandhāra sculpture.<sup>23</sup> This head, and the mask of a monk shown in Figure 9, with its open mouth and quizzical frown, reveal the same concern for imparting animation to the face that is so much a part of the Skopaic tradition that was taken over by Hellenistic artists.

We may add to the repertory of types from Taxila a number of turbaned heads found in the ruins of the Apsidal Temple (Fig. 12). These are apparently representations of Indians and resemble to a certain extent the medallion "portraits" of rulers on the railing of the stūpa of Bhārhut.<sup>24</sup> Beyond this ethnical resemblance there is, however, nothing Indian about their execution: they appear to be portrayals of individuals done in the same generalized fashion that distinguishes the rest of the finds and anticipates the style of Graeco-Buddhist art. The collection of heads unearthed at the Apsidal Temple is completed by an assortment of nondescript and generalized female masks that bear a resemblance to the portrayals of donatrices on the earliest Gandhāra sculpture.<sup>25</sup> This relationship between the heads of the Parthian period and the beginnings of Graeco-Buddhist art will be examined below.

The closest approximation to Augustan sculpture in this collection of pre-Graeco-Buddhist fragments is the head of a youth found in Chapel B12 at the Dharmarājikā Stūpa (Fig. 13).<sup>26</sup> The radiant face of an adolescent has a haunting resemblance to youthful portraits of Augustus, particularly to a decorative adaptation of his physiognomy among the protomes at Aphrodisias (Fig. 14).<sup>27</sup> Both the Taxila mask and the head at Aphrodisias show the square "Polyclitan" head and

<sup>17</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, pl. xix, and F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, pl. 53.

<sup>18</sup> Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1927, pl. 65a. For further parallels see Herzfeld, note 44, p. 148.

<sup>20</sup> Belonging to this same milieu is a bronze bust of a satyr from Alexandria in the Fouquet Collection (F. Poulsen, "Gab es eine Alexandrinische Kunst?" *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, Copenhagen, 1939, fig. 42).

<sup>21</sup> Poulsen, *op.cit.*, fig. 41.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, Paris, 1918, fig. 310.

<sup>24</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, pl. xxiv, 1-3.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1912-13, pl. xviii a, b, c, and pl. viii d.

<sup>26</sup> *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1912-13, p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> Compare the head at Aphrodisias with the youthful portrait of Augustus in the Vatican. The assumption of a wave of Roman influence in Gandhāra, beginning as early as the time of Augustus, is borne out by the evidence of trade relations between Rome and the Kushan empire in the period of Kujula Kadphises. (Although Kujula was formerly regarded as a contemporary of Augustus, the present and more convincing tendency is to place him in the middle of the first century A.D.; Konow infers that he was a young man in A.D. 45 ["Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology," *Journal of Indian History*,

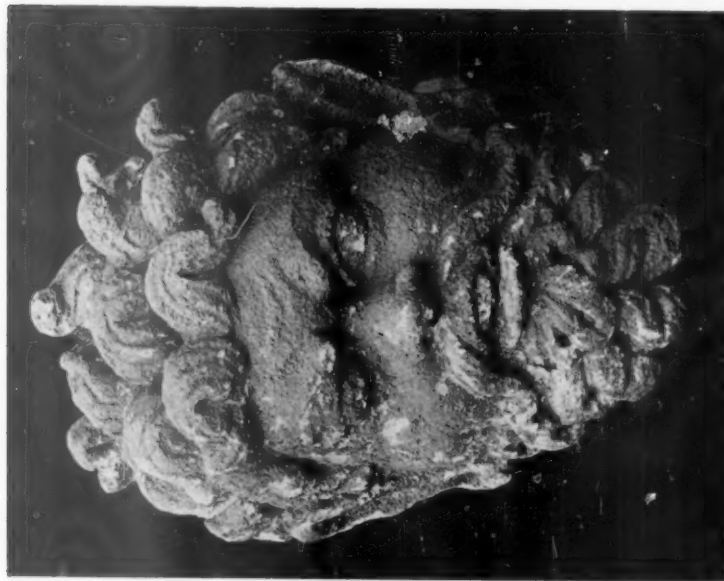


FIG. 1. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Head of a satyr from the Apsidal Temple, Sirkap. First century A.D.



FIG. 2. Aphrodisias. Head of a fawn from the great frieze. First century A.D.



FIG. 3. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Head of a satyr or silen probably from Dinawar, near Kirmanshah, Iran. Parthian period



FIG. 4. London, Indian Museum. Atlantid, Gandhāra sculpture. Second-third century A.D.



FIG. 5. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Grotesque head from the Bhallar Stupa. Fourth-fifth century A.D.



FIG. 6. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Head of a bearded man from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa. First century A.D.



FIG. 7. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Head of a bearded man from the Apsidal Temple, Sirkap. First century A.D.



FIG. 8. Aphrodisias. Head of a bearded man from the great frieze. First century A.D.



FIG. 9. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Head of a monk from the Apsidal Temple, Sirkap. First century A.D.



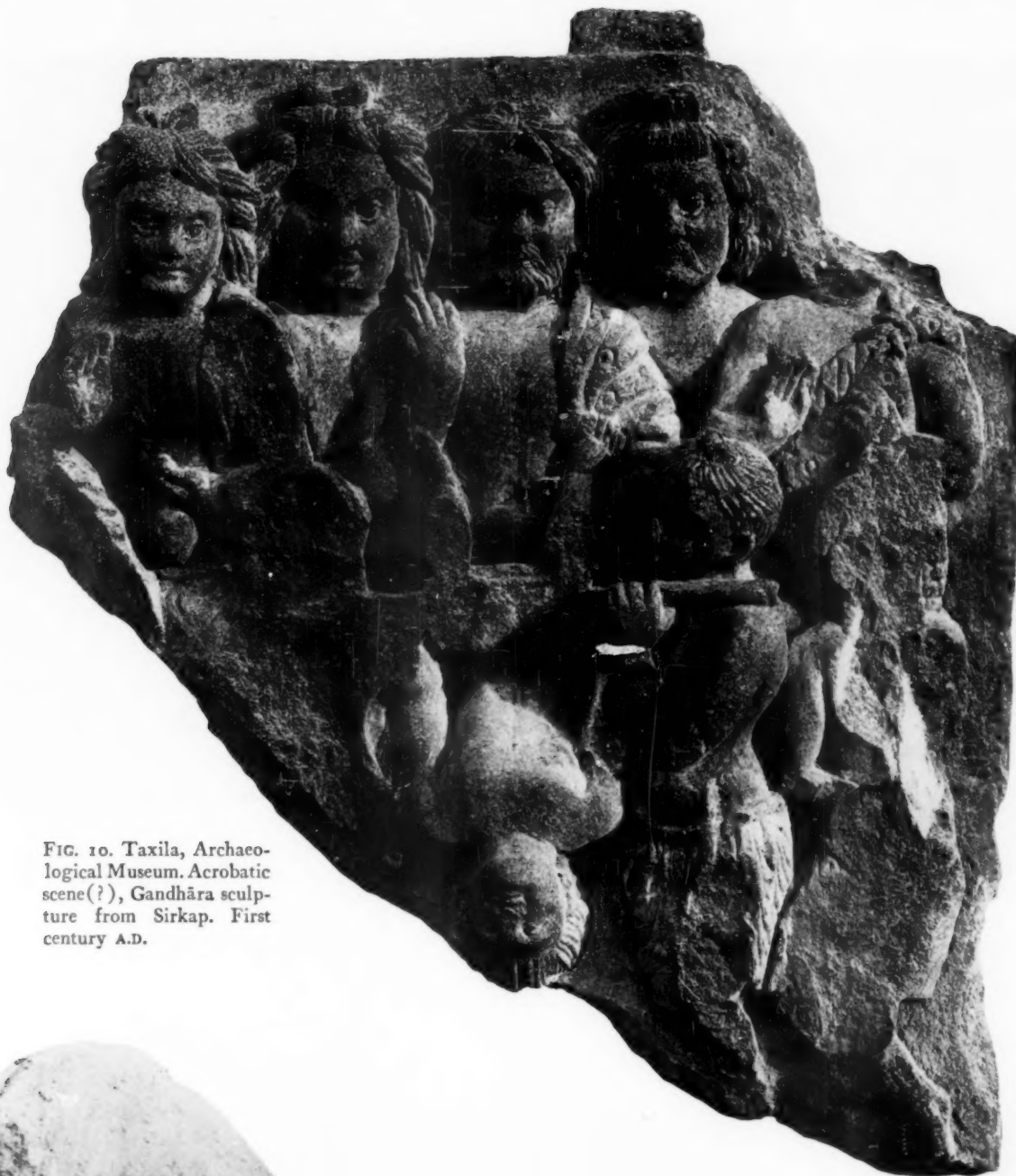


FIG. 10. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Acrobatic scene(?), Gandhāra sculpture from Sirkap. First century A.D.



FIG. 11. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Grotesque head from the Apsidal Temple, Sirkap. First century A.D.



FIG. 12. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Turbaned heads from the Apsidal Temple, Sirkap. First century A.D.



FIG. 13. Taxila, Archaeological Museum. Youthful head of Augustan type from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa. First century A.D.



FIG. 14. Aphrodisias. Youthful head of Augustan type from the great frieze



FIG. 15. Paris, Musée Guimet. Head of Buddha from Hadda



FIG. 16. Location unknown. Head of Buddha, Gandhāra sculpture. Second century A.D.



characteristic tousled hair naturalistically treated that typify the portraits of Augustus and his contemporaries.<sup>28</sup> The Taxila head has the same rather masklike simplification of the planes that proclaims its appropriateness as an architectural decoration rather than an actual portrait.

Whatever the faith of the Apsidal Temple, the fact that not one of the heads unearthed in its precinct is even remotely Buddhist in character would imply that they could not have served any cult purpose but must have been applied as decoration. The hypothesis that they were used as protomes, strengthened by their stylistic relation to the Aphrodisias frieze, does not seem too bold since it serves to account for the enormous number of heads without bodies that Marshall found crowded into small areas at Sirkap and the Dharmarājikā Stūpa.<sup>29</sup> In support of this supposition is the finding of decorative garlands and a bunch of grapes moulded in stucco in association with the heads from the Apsidal Temple.<sup>30</sup>

The use of human heads for architectural decoration has been thoroughly investigated by Debevoise:<sup>31</sup> probably it has an ultimate Hellenistic origin, as is suggested by the employment of scores of such masks on the frieze at Aphrodisias. It is probable that the busts of satyrs from Dinawar already compared with the Taxila example were similarly affixed as ornaments.<sup>32</sup> The Parthian fondness for this type of architectural ornament may be illustrated by the decoration of the Palace of Hatra.<sup>33</sup>

In the ambient of late Hellenistic art that includes Parthian territories both in Iran proper and northwestern India, I have already mentioned the resemblances between the satyr head from Taxila and the marble heads from Kirmanshah, the affinity of the youthful head from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa to a bronze fragment at Shami. One rather interesting piece of late Greek sculpture made in Parthia offers an interesting parallel to the Taxila fragments: this is the head of a Parthian queen found at Susa in 1939.<sup>34</sup> This image bears an inscription with the name "Antiochus, son of Dryas" in a style of epigraphy suggesting a date no earlier than the first century B.C. It has been conjectured that the head may have been a portrait of the slave girl Musa, whom Augustus sent

1933-34, p. 32].) This wave of Roman Hellenism coincides curiously with the period when Parthian art was beginning to shake off the impress of Greek art after the rout of the Roman armies of Crassus and Anthony (Rostovtzeff, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art* [reprinted from *Yale Classical Studies*, v], New Haven, 1935, p. 295). It was Wima Kadphises who first undertook the minting of a gold coinage based on the Roman aureus (E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 298f). The first Kushan ruler, Kujula Kadphises, had struck a coin with what competent authorities have recognized as a likeness of Augustus (Warmington, pp. 296-297). Kujula, on another coin, is shown seated on a Roman *sella curulis*; his successor Wima is enthroned on a *bisellium* (H. K. Deb, "Huviska as Mahāsena," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1936, figs. 9-11). It seems likely that Augustus received an embassy with gifts from the Kushanas while they were still in the Kabul Valley (Warmington, p. 95). Everything tends to prove that beginning probably as early as the first century there was a great volume of trade between Rome and the Kushan empire. The rise of Palmyra in the second century gave a new impetus to trade, through Parthia, while the unification of northern and northwestern India under Kadphises and Kanishka likewise attracted traffic to these regions (M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes of the Roman Empire*, London, 1926; H. G. Rawlinson, *India and the Western World*, Cambridge, 1926). Ptolemy's intimate knowledge of this part of India, his mention of the cities of the Kushan empire, such as "Modura of the Gods," lead us to conclude that he must have obtained his information from actual residents in these parts; these residents were the eastern Romans whom trade had attracted to the Kushan realm. That among these residents were a class of artisans who fashioned the sculptures of Kanishka's

monasteries there seems to be very little doubt. Pointing to the actual residence of Romans in the northwest are the hoards of copper coins. The recent finds at Arikamedu of an actual Roman trading station is the final piece of evidence to prove the presence of westerners in India of the early centuries of our era (R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh, and Krishna Deva, "Arikamedu; An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India*, II, 1946, pp. 17-124).

<sup>28</sup> This particular piece should be compared with the fragmentary bronze head of a Roman found at Shami in southwestern Iran (*Geographical Journal*, Oct., 1938, pl. 9, opp. p. 324; Sir M. A. Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, London, 1940, pl. IV) which is clearly a work of the Augustan period. It appears highly likely that this, as well as other bronze and marble sculpture of classical type found at Shami, belongs to the period of dominant Roman influence in Iran during the reign of Phraates IV and his successors.

<sup>29</sup> *ASJ.A.R.*, 1912-13, p. 14. Mr. Frank Trapp of Harvard University, to whom I am indebted for many suggestions and references on the protomic motif, has in preparation an article on the appearance of this form in Central Asian and Chinese art.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24, No. 12.

<sup>31</sup> N. C. Debevoise, "The Origin of Decorative Stucco," *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 52ff.

<sup>32</sup> Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, p. 25; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 33.

<sup>33</sup> Sarre, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-61; W. Andrae, Hatra, II, *Wissenschaftl. Veröff. d. deutschen Orientgesell.*, 22, Leipzig, 1912, pls. XIX, XX.

<sup>34</sup> F. Cumont, "Portrait d'une reine parthe trouvé à Suse," *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1939, p. 330 and pl. I (p. 336).

to Phraates IV (37-2 B.C.) and who reigned with Phraates V in the first decade of our era.<sup>35</sup> One is reminded of the many inscriptions with Greek names found among the Parthian debris at Taxila and the signature of the Greek Agiselos on the famous reliquary of King Kanishka.<sup>36</sup> It is perhaps not too bold to suppose that another Seleucian artist, trained in the Hellenistic tradition of the Augustan period, may have been responsible for the decoration of the Apsidal Temple.

The heads from Taxila are interesting in another relation, since they mark the first instance in India of the employment of stucco for decorative purposes. Insofar as existing evidence enables us to make a definitive statement, it would appear that the use of stucco for the figural decoration of architecture was first developed by the Parthians and spread from Iran to all adjoining regions.<sup>37</sup>

These sculptures, the earliest examples of classical art from India, revealing the survival of Hellenic and Hellenistic types in Augustan art, bring to mind a statement of Professor Rostovtzeff's: "In their new homeland, influenced strongly by Greek art and less significantly by Indian, they [the Sakas] created a peculiar Graeco-Iranian art. This art may have influenced to a certain extent the development of that peculiar hybrid art which we call, after Foucher, the Graeco-Buddhic [*sic*] art of the Gandhāra region."<sup>38</sup> I would even amplify Professor Rostovtzeff's theory to say that, before the comparatively settled conditions that succeeded the advent of the Parthians, Greek art could scarcely have existed in these regions. The finding of the many scattered pieces of Hellenistic sculpture throughout Iran and in the Parthians' Indian domains seems to indicate that the Philhellenism of the Parthians was of a thicker fabric than is indicated by their use of Greek inscriptions and cultivation of the Greek drama, and strengthens the theory that Parthia, more than the semimythical Bactria, kept alive the tradition of classic art in the Middle East and was responsible for its transmission to India. Under the Parthians, Iran, politically as well as artistically, still hung in the balance between Europe and Asia: its fate as an oriental power was not really sealed until the Sasanian period. As we have seen, Sir John Marshall's later excavations in the cities of Sirkap and Taxila have led him to the conclusion that Parthian rule and semi-Greek culture continued in the Punjab until about A.D. 65, the earliest possible date for the advent of the Kushans.<sup>39</sup> "There is," says Sir John Marshall, "abundant evidence to show that much of this [Greek] influence was directly due to the Parthians."<sup>40</sup> And again, "Whatever the Kushans had of Graeco-Roman ideas or Graeco-Roman culture must have come to them by way of Parthia."<sup>41</sup> I would add that probably they found this culture largely ready-made. It may have excited their interest and respect for the west and led to the establishment of even closer artistic relations with Rome under Wima Kadphises and his successors, a conclusion favored, of course, by the trade route between India and the Graeco-Roman orient. It is interesting to note in this connection Foucher's remarks on the three or four generations necessary for the mingling of Hellenism and Buddhism to produce the earliest works of the Gandhāra school.<sup>42</sup> These generations would seem to fall naturally in the later period of Parthian occupation of the Punjab and the decades immediately following the advent of the Kushans about A.D. 65. Although Sirkap is generally regarded as a Parthian city,

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>36</sup> Konow, *C.I.I.*, pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 65, 98, 134, and, for the Kanishka inscription, p. 137.

<sup>37</sup> Debevoise, *op.cit.*, p. 53; Herzfeld (*Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 4), in speaking of the stucco ornamentation of Kūh-i-Khwaja in Seistan, writes, "The work of this Eastern specimen [of stucco sculpture] is by far the finest. Here we are nearer its origin, a statement which implies no special praise." This scholar presumably believed that the tradition of plaster decoration had its beginning somewhere in eastern Iran rather than in the Mesopotamian portions of the Parthian realm.

<sup>38</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art*, p. 177.

<sup>39</sup> Sir J. Marshall, "Excavations at Taxila," *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1929-30, pp. 55-56.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>41</sup> *Idem.* The heads from the Apsidal Temple may be regarded as the sculptural counterparts of the well-known Ionic temples excavated at Taxila which reveal the same combination of classic and Parthian elements in their form and function. See *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1912-13, pp. 35ff.; *A.S.I.*, Report V, 1872-73, pp. 63-75; B. Rowland, Jr., "Notes on Ionic Architecture in the East," *A.J.A.*, xxxix, 1935, pp. 489-496; H. Schaeffer, "Two Gandharan Temples and Their Near Eastern Sources," *J.A.O.S.*, LXII, 1942, pp. 6168, etc.

<sup>42</sup> Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, pp. 457-458.



it may be that at least for a short time the site was occupied by the first of the Kushans to become established in Taxila. The strongly Augustan character of the sculpture, examined together with the known relations between Kujula Kadphises and Augustus,<sup>43</sup> might make the reign of that Kushan Mahārāja a more likely period for the decoration of the Apsidal Temple.<sup>44</sup> Actually, whether this shrine was built under the last of the Parthians or the first of the Kushans is purely an academic question, since we are still left with a date either slightly before or slightly after A.D. 65 for this latest complex at Sirkap.

Because, therefore, the sculpture of the Apsidal Temple belongs to the latest period of Parthian occupation before the advent of the Kushans in A.D. 65, or, at the very latest, from the short period when the city was occupied by the first generation of Yüeh-chih invaders in the last decades of the first century A.D., it is not chronologically very far removed from the earliest dateable Gandhāra reliefs unearthed at the Dharmarājikā Stūpa and at Kalawan.<sup>45</sup> The inscribed metal plates found in association with these sculptures established a date of A.D. 76 and 78 for the two groups of schist fragments.<sup>46</sup> These reliefs correspond rather closely in style with the carving of a curious fragment of sculpture (Fig. 10),<sup>47</sup> representing a scene of acrobatic entertainment, with a figure suspended from a pole held on the shoulders of two youthful attendants, found in the upper strata of Block E<sup>1</sup> near the Apsidal Temple and presumably dateable in this same transitional period.<sup>48</sup>

All of these fragments, which I have described elsewhere as Gandhāra primitives, show the first assimilation by native craftsmen of the Hellenistic-Augustan tradition represented by the heads of the Apsidal Temple, made hardly a generation earlier. This is the formative period of late antique

<sup>43</sup> See above, note 27.

<sup>44</sup> It appears at least possible that the Kushan conquest of Taxila, although generally referred to as a "sack," may have been more in the nature of a gradual and relatively peaceful infiltration than an actual destruction. The finding of money of Kujula Kadphises seems to point to this. It should also be noted that the date of the Duck Vase (*askos*) found in the precinct of the Apsidal Temple has been interpreted by Ghirshman as A.D. 134 (Ghirshman, p. 68). Konow in his original reading of the inscription arrived at a dating of A.D. 107-108 (Konow, *C.I.I.*, p. 82). More recently Baij Nath Puri dated the vase A.D. 125 (the 191st year of an era which he believes to have begun in 66 B.C.; cf. Baij Nath Puri, "The Date of the Kadphises Kings and Their Relations with the Saka Ksatrapas of Western India," *Journal of Indian History*, xx, 1941, p. 284). According to this last authority as well as Konow, the Jihonika (Zeionises) of the inscription was originally satrap of Chuksha who assumed power in Taxila after the death of Wima Kadphises, and this interregnum was ended by the restoration of the Kushan line with Kanishka. It is not unlikely that this restoration was accompanied by some violence; in other words, it would have been at this time that Sirkap was sacked and the silver vessels buried behind the Apsidal Temple. If Sirkap, then, was only finally destroyed at the time of Kanishka's rise to power (Konow: A.D. 129; Ghirshman: A.D. 141), it would be possible to account for the finding of so many steatite dishes with subjects of Roman iconography no earlier than the second century A.D. (cf. H. Buchthal, "Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxi, London, 1945, pp. 4-7 and note 26). As I have suggested elsewhere, it may not be too much to suppose that the Apsidal Temple was built during the reign of Kujula Kadphises or Wima in a period when the Parthian and Hellenistic-Roman influences were still very strong.

Bachhofer (*J.A.O.S.*, 1941, p. 241) writes with regard to the date of the Duck Vase, "Its year 191 cannot be later than 76 A.D. and this excludes any reference to the era of Azes. . . . It refers very likely to an era . . . which, I think, started at about 138 B.C." The invention of this Parthian era of 138 B.C. was necessitated by the writer's desire to make the *askos* ear-

lier than the universally accepted dates for the Kushan domination of Taxila as established by the Taxila inscriptions of A.D. 76 and 78.

<sup>45</sup> B. Rowland, Jr., "A Revised Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture," *THE ART BULLETIN*, xviii, 1936, p. 392, figs. 9 and 10; *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1912-13, pls. viia-1-2; viib-3-5; viiib, d, e; Lxa, b-2-3, c,d,e; *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1930-34, pl. xciv.

<sup>46</sup> Rowland, *loc.cit.*; *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1930-34, p. 163. In his most recent consideration of the problem of the date of the Gandhāra sculptures from Taxila, Sir John Marshall (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1947, p. 15) repudiates his earlier opinion on the chronology of these reliefs. He is now inclined to believe that they may be dedications of a later period than the inscriptions in the foundations of the chapels where they were unearthed. However, the style of these pieces, both from the point of view of technique and iconography, tends to uphold his former opinion. The technique is that same mixture of archaic Indian and western elements that can be discerned in the finds from Sirkap and Shah-ji-ki-dheri. Iconographically, these reliefs belong to a period when the event portrayed—the Buddha's First Sermon—is still represented as an episode from the life of Buddha in which Sākyamuni and his attendants are all shown in the same scale. This method is replaced, certainly as early as the third century A.D., by a new technique in which the principal protagonist—the Buddha—is enormously enlarged in scale, and it is his form and attitude that stands for the event; i.e. the First Meditation, Gandhāra, second to third century A.D., Peshawar Museum (L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York [n.d.], pl. 145); the Great Miracle, from Shotorak (Afghanistan), third century A.D. (J. Meunié, *Shotorak, Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, x, Paris, 1942, pl. x). A final example of this process may be illustrated by the famous Gupta relief of the Buddha Preaching in the Archaeological Museum at Sarnāth (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1927, pl. XLII, fig. 161).

<sup>47</sup> *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1927-28, pl. XIX, 2, p. 64. One is reminded of the acrobatic feats performed at the court of Taxila described by Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, II, 28).

<sup>48</sup> See Sir John Marshall's recent article for a complete account of these "pre-Gandhāra" fragments.

art in India when, as has been suggested by Bachhofer,<sup>49</sup> the Kushans even before Kanishka were the promoters of Graeco-Buddhist art, a phase of late classical art that now even more clearly is revealed to have its roots in the off-shoot of Hellenistic-Augustan sculpture that we have recognized in the figural ornamentation of the Apsidal Temple and the Dharmarājikā Stūpa.

Some readers may have been struck by the resemblance of the very animated heads from Sirkap to many examples of sculpture from Hadda that can be dated largely in the fifth century A.D. and, by reason of their animation and picturesqueness, are described as "Hellenistic," "Gothic," or "baroque."<sup>50</sup> The explanation for this similarity is, as we shall see immediately, a perfectly natural and logical development, no more surprising than the resemblance of the earliest heads of the Buddha type to the final examples in the Gandhāra school (Figs. 15 and 16).

It is not necessary to follow the preposterous theory invented by Foucher and perpetuated by Tarn that moulds of Hellenistic types continued in use at Hadda and Taxila for more than five hundred years after the last twilight of the Greek world.<sup>51</sup> As Bachhofer has pointed out in repudiating this untenable hypothesis, moulds were certainly used, but they were contemporary, not Hellenistic ones used over and over again for half a millennium.<sup>52</sup> He accounts for the strongly baroque character of the late sculpture of Hadda and Taxila by the process of evolution "from a linear to a baroque style, the normal development of every vigorous art."<sup>53</sup> This proposition is also brought forward in another article by the same writer in which he further states, "Es schiebt sich also ein neues Element zwischen die hellenistische Plastik und die Plastik von Hadda: die nord-westindische Skulptur des ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr."<sup>54</sup> Bachhofer demonstrates very convincingly that the essentially hieratic and linear heads of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas at Hadda are simply a continuation of the style found in Gandhāra stone and stucco sculpture of the early centuries of our era; he calls attention to the near identity in style and type between figures of warriors from Hadda and similar personages in the reliefs of Jaulian, Taxila. There could be no more conclusive proof for the unity in types and medium of all late Gandhāra sculpture in north-western India. What interests us even more is the establishment of a similar unity in depth; that is, the resemblance between the heads from the Apsidal Temple and similar late secular masks found not only at Taxila but at Hadda as well.<sup>55</sup> These parallels are, of course, separated by more than four centuries in time. This process of survival of both types and technique might be illus-

<sup>49</sup> Bachhofer, *J.A.O.S.*, 1941, p. 228. I am in complete agreement with Bachhofer when he says, "This art was just in the making when [Sirkap] was under Parthian domination, i.e. sometime in the second and third quarter of the first century A.D."

<sup>50</sup> J. Barthoux, "Recent Explorations by the French Mission in Afghanistan," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1928*, Leyden, 1930, p. 11: "This art is indubitably Hellenistic;" Barthoux, *L'Oeuvre de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, III, *Fouilles de Hadda: Figures et figurines*, Paris, 1930, p. 12: "caractère foncièrement hellénistique;" J. Hackin, *L'Oeuvre de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* (1922-1932), Tokyo, 1933, pp. 7ff.

The choice of the word "Hellenistic" to describe the sculpture of Hadda has obviously forced itself on the writers because it is the only term in the vocabulary of art history that adequately describes the dynamic, pathetic character of so many of the moulded heads of ascetics, warriors, and demons from this famous Afghan site; it is the only specific art term that seems to fit the turbulent, passionate expressiveness of this last phase of late antique art in India. Even though Bachhofer has remarked that the more Hellenistic a piece of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture appears, the later it must be chronologically (Bachhofer, *Studia Sino-Iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, 1931, p. 41), the term is by no means a misnomer or an "anachronism" once we recognize the final phase of Gandhāra art as the survival of a mode of expression rather than an archaistic revival of an earlier style. The qualities that we regard as peculiarly Hellenistic survive in Roman art,

particularly in the later manifestations of Imperial art, and even in Byzantium the memory of Hellenistic expressiveness is not entirely dead. Roman art remade Hellenistic expressiveness into its own vernacular style (cf. R. Hinks, *Carolingian Art*, London, 1935, pp. 32-33).

Augustan art and Augustan policy had not a little to do with this survival. With the establishment of the principate, Hellenistic art, absorbed in the service of the Roman state, was diffused, in the form of monuments and exports, to all the boundaries of the empire. The relations between Rome and Parthia, exemplified in the close ties between Augustus and Phraates IV, served to extend Augustan Hellenism into all the Arsacid realm.

<sup>51</sup> A. Foucher, "Buste provenant d'Hadda au Musée Guimet," *Monuments Piot*, xxx, 1929, p. 101; Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 398.

<sup>52</sup> Bachhofer, *J.A.O.S.*, 1941, p. 224, note 5.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>54</sup> Bachhofer, "Zur Plastik von Hadda," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, (xvii) N.F. VII, 1931, pp. 106-111.

<sup>55</sup> Compare the head of a youth from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa (Fig. 13) with plate 41 in Barthoux, *Fouilles de Hadda*; the bearded heads from the Apsidal Temple and the Dharmarājikā Stūpa (Figs. 6 and 7) may be compared with Barthoux, plate 61b and c, and 62d; for the Sirkap satyr (Fig. 1), see Barthoux, plate 58e; the head of a monk from the Apsidal Temple (Fig. 9) bears a resemblance to Barthoux, plate 60b. See also Barthoux, "Les Fouilles de Hadda," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, v, 1928, pp. 71-74 and pls. xx, xxi.



trated by the satyr head from Sirkap. Herzfeld has called attention to the strong resemblance between the heads of Silenai from Dinawar and the grotesques and demon masks of Gandhāra sculpture.<sup>56</sup> The head from Taxila which we have already found to be closely related to the Hellenistic heads from Iran is geographically an even more pertinent prototype for not only demon types but for the bearded Atlantes of early Gandhāra sculpture (Fig. 4).<sup>57</sup> Coming to parallels—or survivals—for this type in the fifth century stucco heads from Hadda, we turn to heads of ascetics and Brahmins published by Barthoux, notably those illustrated in Plates 58e and 61b of his *Fouilles de Hadda*. These later heads reveal the same suggestion of intensity and passion through such Hellenistic (originally Skopaic) devices as the open mouth and deeply sunken eyes. Again, a youthful head from the Bhallar Stūpa (Fig. 5), no earlier than the fifth century A.D.,<sup>58</sup> reveals the same formula seen in the satyr for displaying concentrated intensity through the contraction of the brows in the identical winglike convention.<sup>59</sup> It seems not too bold to suggest that, just as the hieratic Buddha and Bodhisattva types of early Gandhāra, once established, persisted with little change in iconography or style into the very last phase of the school, so the more properly speaking secular types, originally derived from true late Hellenistic and Augustan forms, enjoyed a quasi-immortality through repetition from generation to generation, and, perhaps, as Barthoux suggests, renewed by itinerant artists from the Roman east of later periods introducing new waves of classical influence.<sup>60</sup>

By this mention of a resemblance between the Buddha heads in the early (second century A.D.) and late (fifth century A.D.) Gandhāra sculpture, I do not mean that the style remained completely static and unchanged for four centuries or longer: it is the fixed hieratic iconographical model for the Buddha type, originally based on an Apollonian prototype with the addition of such appropriate *lakṣāṇa* as the *urna* and *uṣṇiṣa*, that is repeated for centuries as the same unanimated youthful face. There are, of course, stylistic changes in the later examples in the direction of a greater dryness of execution and masklike impassivity. The secular types of Hellenistic origin from the first to fifth century A.D. are repeated in the same way, with the difference that, for this class of sculpture, not only the type survives but those peculiar technical devices that make for its animation: the deep-set eyes and open mouths of Skopaic and Pergamene tradition. The stylistic differences are of course perfectly apparent between early and late examples—a more summary, even impressionistic, treatment of the form in the late sculpture of Hadda and Taxila.

In many ways this is a process of survival, not revival, of Hellenistic forms that reminds us of the so-called neo-Hellenistic school of Byzantine art of the eleventh century. There, as Muratoff has pointed out, the persistence of a Hellenistic tradition in secular art eventually influenced the hieratic strain in Byzantine art in the direction of more dramatic, realistic treatment.<sup>61</sup> Until this moment, the entirely hieratic types of Christ and the Panaghia, however, once formulated in the sixth century, remained practically unchanged, just as did the types of Buddha and his saints in Gandhāra art.

Gerard Brett, in discussing the heterogeneous secular motifs in the mosaics of the Sacred Palace in Constantinople, writes, "The tradition to which the Great Palace mosaic belongs led, not to any revival, but an ever dwindling survival, the traces of which can be detected in iconoclastic and Early Islamic art, and which was slowly merged into mediaeval decoration."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 33.

<sup>57</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Pt. II, *The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra*, Delhi, 1937, pl. xiiia.

<sup>58</sup> *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1930-34.

<sup>59</sup> See note 16.

<sup>60</sup> J. Barthoux, "Recent Explorations by the French Mission in Afghanistan," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1928*, Leyden, 1930, p. 12. Barthoux (*Fouilles de Hadda*, p. 10) writes, "Les chefs d'oeuvres seront reproduits

de mémoire, reminiscences d'ateliers, où se revelera avec éclat l'influence grecque."

<sup>61</sup> P. Muratoff, *La Pittura bizantina*, Rome (n.d.), pp. 132ff. See also R. Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, I, The Hague, 1923, p. 61, on the survival of Hellenic elements in mediaeval Italian painting.

<sup>62</sup> G. Brett, "The Mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, v, 1942, p. 43. Among the survivals which he mentions are the wall paintings of Quseir'Amra (eighth century) and the mosaic



The appearance at Hadda of heads of Skopaic, Praxitelean, and later Roman types is to be explained by the survival of the tradition represented by the sculpture of the Apsidal Temple rather than by any theory of sporadic classic revivals extending to the east. The reason that the very earliest Gandhāra stucco heads resemble the very latest examples of the technique does not become very difficult to explain once it is realized that the collection of sculpture from Hadda and the later sites at Taxila is, in a sense, a persistence rather than a reappearance of the eclectic repertory of the Hellenistic-Augustan period. In the same way the scores of typical Gandhāran masks of Buddha are the perpetuation of a more purely Indian hieratic mould.

In other words, while preserving the dryly spiritualized formula of early Gandhāra art for the Buddha image, the sculptors of Taxila and Hadda in the fifth century, in lay figures and grotesques, present a living array of types that is without doubt the end of a style that had its beginnings in the stucco heads of the first century A.D. that we have examined. The vitality of the late sculpture of northwestern India is strongly suggestive of the dynamic character of Roman provincial art: the so-called "Gothic" character of the Hadda sculpture is far from difficult to reconcile with Roman provincial art,<sup>63</sup> since this same quality is present in monuments made by the "barbarians" on all the fringes of the Roman world empire. The "realism" of Germanic carvings, like the heads in the Neumagen Memorial and the heads from Hadda which they resemble, differs from early Roman portraits in its intensity and heightened impressionistic treatment.<sup>64</sup> The quality of pathos and dynamic realism that we note in late Roman, Byzantine, and northwest Indian work of the fifth century A.D. is really the modification of a tendency already dominant in Hellenistic art and not the sudden and simultaneous result of some vague aesthetic force asserting itself on all the boundaries of the Roman world.

One could say in explanation of the expressiveness of late Gandhāra art that, just as neo-Platonism introduced spiritual, even supernatural, life into the art of the late antique period in the Mediterranean world, Buddhism—especially the various Mahāyāna cults emphasizing salvation—may in part have been responsible for the spiritual qualities, the "soul," in this manifestation of the late antique in Asia.

Again, the persistence of an essentially realistic tradition in sculpture with an emphasis on the pathetic-dramatic type of Hellenistic art, side by side with the hieratic cult image, is not too difficult to explain in a region whose population, especially the artist population, was until the very end of the school in part western or "Eurasian" in character, having the same humanist heritage as the artists of Byzantium. It was no more strange for the dynamic realistic tradition of Hellenistic art to survive with the official and frozen Buddhist cult image than it was for generations of artists in the Byzantine world to perpetuate, largely in profane art, the remembered realistic style of late Greek art at the same time that the forms of Christ and his saints remained frozen and abstract in the appropriate golden world of mosaic. In the same way that the survival of a realistic, dramatic, and coloristic tradition in neo-Hellenistic art led eventually to the humanist art of the Gothic period,<sup>65</sup> so the surviving Hellenistic art of the first century A.D. in northwestern India culminated in the so-called Gothic art of Hadda in the fifth.

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decor of the Stanza di Ruggiero in Palermo. A final example, dating from almost the very moment when this popular profane Hellenistic tradition came to influence religious art, might be pointed out in the frescoes of the gallery staircase in Sta. Sophia in Kiev (cf. D. Ainaloff and E. Riedin, *Ancient Monuments of Art, in Kieff: the Cathedral of Sta. Sophia*, Charkoff, 1899, pp. 45ff.).

<sup>63</sup> One writer, Silvio Ferri (*L'Arte romana sul Danubio*, Milan, 1933, p. 305, note 1), describes the sculptures of Hadda as stylistically situated between archaic Greek and the Romanesque of Toulouse.

<sup>64</sup> G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, III), Berlin, 1927, pls. 623-627.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Muratoff, *op.cit.*, p. 135.

# THE ALLENDALE NATIVITY IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY

HANS TIETZE AND E. TIETZE-CONRAT

THE *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the National Gallery in Washington (Fig. 1), enjoys a well-deserved popularity with the public. It combines a tenderness verging on sentimentality in the figure group and a frank delight in rendering every detail in the landscape, two appeals which seldom fail to win sympathy. The modicum drop of slickness, which apparently is indispensable in the anointing of any great masterpiece aspiring to general applause, has somewhat dimmed the critical eye to the many interesting problems offered by the painting. In spite of much intense study dedicated to its classification, the conditions of its origin remain obscure, and this uncertainty has favored the growth of a most amazing success story, comparable to those popular tales about poor immigrants who make fabulously good after having crossed the ocean.

In fact, as long as the painting belonged to Lord Allendale in London, many art critics refused to accept it as a work by Giorgione.<sup>1</sup> It is true, as we remember ourselves, that in Lord Allendale's house it could be seen only under very unfavorable conditions. But even when shown in excellent light in the Italian Exhibition in Burlington House in 1930, it drew severe comments, none more devastating than Sir Kenneth Clark's report on the exhibition.<sup>2</sup> He wrote: "The first impression is that of a wonderful painting, and one thinks of the greatest names, Giorgione and Titian, but a more intimate view dispells that impression. . . . The color is too heavy for Giorgione and lacks his freshness and melody. And for Titian, the picture is too timidly painted. . . . Perhaps the painting is one of the many *pasticci* of the contemporary Venetian workshops, probably the work of an unknown artist whose imitations of Titian were labeled Polidoro Lanzani. . . ."

It was only after the purchase of the painting by Duveen Brothers in 1937, and its thorough cleaning, that several critics withdrew their opinions published before and accepted the attribution to Giorgione (Gronau, Lionello Venturi, G. M. Richter), and other critics who for the first time had an opportunity of studying the painting more thoroughly expressed themselves at once in favor of Giorgione's authorship (Fiocco, Morassi). Adolfo Venturi, on the other hand, held to his repeatedly expressed doubts, and Berenson, who in his lists had enumerated only the version in Vienna, and that under the name of Titian, rejected Giorgione's authorship in strong terms ("Giorgione seems to me quite excluded from the authorship of this painting") and with detailed argumentation, pleaded instead for Titian.<sup>3</sup> Referring to this painting in connection with the drawing in Windsor,<sup>4</sup> we rejected Giorgione, considering it unnecessary to discuss the painting thoroughly there.

The most vehement advocates of Giorgione's authorship are Suida, who declared himself as early as 1930,<sup>5</sup> and Fiocco, who asserts that, except for Mr. Berenson's dissent, the attribution of the *Nativity* to Giorgione is unanimously accepted by scholars,<sup>6</sup> having in mind, apparently, only those scholars who had been asked to deliver a written opinion.

<sup>1</sup> See the summary in G. M. Richter, *Giorgio da Castelfranco*, Chicago, 1937, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIII, 1929/30, Kunstchronik, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Mr. Duncan Phillips. We wish to express our special gratitude to Mr. Berenson for having authorized and encouraged us with greatest courtesy to use the text of this

important letter.

<sup>4</sup> H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters of the XVth and XVIth Centuries*, New York, 1944, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> *Pantheon*, XXVI, 1940, pp. 277f.

<sup>6</sup> *L'Arte veneta*, I, 1947, p. 142.

The main reason the painting called forth such divergent reactions seems to be the unmitigated contrast of old and new stylistic elements. Some critics have emphasized the old, Bellinesque, trends and have therefore ascribed the picture to a follower of Bellini who would have adapted these traditional elements to the modern trends of his day. For others the new tendencies predominate, and since the old cannot be entirely denied, they consider the painting a juvenile production of Bellini's pupil, Giorgione, and in cases where the new seems still more decisive to them, a painting begun by Giorgione and finished by Titian.<sup>7</sup>

Before attempting to analyze the different, almost contradictory, stylistic trends in the painting, we must examine the documentary evidence which has been put forth in favor of Giorgione's authorship. A relatively late document is the listing of the second version of the *Nativity*, in Vienna (Fig. 2), in the 1649 inventory of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm Collection, as by Giorgione. This very careful inventory, a most creditable document of seventeenth century connoisseurship, does not, however, simply list the painting as by Giorgione, as it does in the case of several others, but says: "man hält es von Giorgione original" (it is considered to be an original by Giorgione). More important, because almost contemporary, is the mention of a *presepe* by Giorgione in an inventory of the estate of Giovanni Grimani di Antonio, in Venice, of 1563: *uno quadro de un prexepio da man de Zorzi di Chastel Franco*, estimated at ten ducats by Paris Bordone.<sup>8</sup> The entry, however, hardly refers to the painting in Washington, the estimate seeming much too low in comparison to others in the same document; e.g. a painting of Christ with a Pietà, supposed to be by Bonifazio (*qual si dice esser sta fato da man di Bonifazio pitor*) is valued at thirty ducats and a portrait by Jacometto at the same amount, while the value of an anonymous Madonna is given as seven ducats. In addition, there exists another painting which may be the one listed in the inventory: the *Nativity* in the Hermitage (Fig. 4), formerly in the imperial palace of Gatchina, first published by Baron Liphart (in *Starye Gody*, January 1913) as by Cariani, listed by Berenson—most consistently—as an early Titian, and classified in the Hermitage as School of Giorgione. We mentioned and illustrated it in our article on Giulio Campagnola's engravings<sup>9</sup> in connection with the engraving by Master F. N. of 1515, which copies and varies the painting. Its claim to be the painting listed in the inventory of 1563 seems still better than that of the *Nativity* in Washington in view of its small size (19 1/4 by 15 3/4 inches) and modest aspect.

The most important evidence, and that most frequently referred to is, however, the correspondence of Isabella d'Este with her agent in Venice, Taddeo Albano, after the death of Giorgione in 1510. On October 25 of this year the Duchess wrote from Mantua: "Intendemo che in le cose et heredità de Zorzo da Castelfrancho pictore se ritrova una pictura de una nocte. molto bella et singolare, quando cossi fusse desideraressimo haverla, però vi pregamo che voliate essere cum Lorenzo da Pavia e qualche altro che habbi judicio et disegno, et vedere se l'è cosa eccellente et trovando de sì operati il meglio del m<sup>co</sup>m. Carlo Valerio, nostro compatre charissimo, et de chi altro vi parerà per apostar questa pictura per noi, intendendo il precio et dandone aviso. Et quando vi paresse de concludere il mercato, essendo cosa bona perdubio non fusse levata da altri. . . ." Albano's answer of November 7 acknowledges the receipt of the order and adds: ". . . rispondo a V.E. che ditto Zorzo morì più di fanno da peste, et per voler servir quella ho parlato cum alcuni mei amizi, che havevano grandissima praticcha cum lui, quali mi affirmano non esser in ditta heredità tal pictura. Ben è vero che ditto Zorzo ne fece una a m. Thaddeo Contarini, qual per la informatione ho autta non è molto perfecta, sichondo vorebbe quella. Un altra pictura de la nocte fece ditto Zorzo a una

<sup>7</sup> Duncan Phillips, *The Leadership of Giorgione*, Washington, D.C., 1937, p. 113: "The design and landscape by Giorgione, but the group in front of the tree by a pupil of Bellini borrowed for this purpose." Mr. Phillips' later opinion admitting Titian's share was expressed in a lecture given on the

occasion of the Giorgione Exhibition at Baltimore, 1942.

<sup>8</sup> Published by G. Fogolari, in *Arte nostra*, Treviso, 1910, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Print Collectors Quarterly*, XXIX, 1942, p. 202.





FIG. 1. Washington, National Gallery of Art (Kress Collection). *Allendale Nativity*



FIG. 2. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Venetian School, Sixteenth Century, *Nativity*



FIG. 3. Windsor Castle, Library. *Nativity*. Drawing



FIG. 4. Leningrad, Hermitage. Attributed to School of Giorgione, *Nativity*



FIG. 5. Detail of Figure 1



FIG. 6. Murano, San Pietro Martire. Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna with the Doge Barbarigo*. Detail



Victorio Becharo qual per quanto intendo è a miglior disegno et meglio finitta che non è quella del Contarini. Ma esso Becharo al presente non si atrova in questa terra, et sichondo m'è stato affirmatto nè l'una nè l'altra non sono da vendere per pretio nessuno, però che li hanno fatte fare per volerle godere per loro; sichè mi doglio non poter satisfar al desiderio de quella. . . ."

From 1937 on, when the tide turned suddenly in favor of an outright attribution of the *Nativity* to Giorgione, there was a mounting tendency to support this attribution by identifying the painting with one of the *notti* by Giorgione mentioned in those letters, and some critics (for instance Fiocco in his monograph of 1941, p. 16) went even so far as to identify the version in Washington with the *notte* belonging to Victorio Becharo, and the version in Vienna with the *notte non molto perfetta* belonging to Thaddeo Contarini.

Let us first examine the second assertion. Albano, according to his own report, knew the paintings only by hearsay; his words need not indicate that the paintings represented the same subject and were virtually identical. Moreover, his connoisseur friends on whom he relied would hardly have made such a distinction between two versions that were nearly identical. The one in Vienna, which to a connoisseur like Sir Kenneth Clark "always seemed the more precisely painted of the two in question,"<sup>10</sup> would not have been described as less well drawn and less finished than the other.<sup>11</sup>

Is it really valid to assume in the first place that Giorgione's *notti* represented "Nativities"?

The *Vocabulario dell' Accademia della Crusca* does not list any use of the word *notte* for the night in which Christ was born, before the eighteenth century. From the sixteenth century there is only one passage, referring, however, not to the night before Christmas, but to the one preceding the Epiphany. As a matter of fact, in mediaeval Latin, *nox* was used for the nights preceding any of the great Christian holidays (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and others) and was clarified by Du Cange by identification with the French *veille d'un fête* (i.e. vigil of a feast day). Around 1500 *notte* and "Nativity" were not synonymous, and indeed in the long correspondence about Giovanni Bellini's painting, ending only five years before 1510, Isabella and her agent used the word *presepe* exclusively, as it also appears in the 1563 inventory of the Grimani painting. It seems therefore worth investigating whether or when the word *notte* replaced that of *presepe* for the mysterious birth of our Lord.

In the Middle Ages the Child used to be represented lying in the manger behind or above the Mother, and the word manger (*presepe*) continued in current use in Italy, even after the *Contemplations of S. Bonaventura*, and the *Vision of St. Brigid* had made another conception popular, namely the showing of the Child, immediately after his mysterious birth, lying not in the manger, but naked on the ground and adored by the Virgin. This is the mystery of the Holy Night which was accompanied by other miracles. The trees blossomed and bore fruit (Mantegna, Metropolitan Museum), the night became light as day, three suns appeared and fused into one. Angels stood around the praying Virgin and sang Hallelujah. The Christ Child, unsoiled by the act of birth and without having impaired his mother's virginity (the essential point for fourteenth century theologians), radiated a light stronger than any other natural or artificial light, for instance that of Joseph's lantern, which, according to St. Brigid, had been fastened to the wall by Joseph when he left the cave before the birth took place. The contrast between such supernatural light and the surrounding darkness evidenced the miracle most strikingly. "Holy Night" therefore indicates not only the time of the event, but the darkness in which the heavenly light shone. The rationalistic

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.* G. Fogolari, *loc. cit.*, reproduces the Vienna version, in his opinion practically identical to the other.

<sup>11</sup> In our opinion the classification of the Vienna painting in the catalogue of the Kunsthistorische Museum (1938, p. 185, no. 23) as "a faithful repetition (except for a few details in the landscape) of the *Allendale Nativity* made by a Venetian"

is absolutely correct, only the copy is not *gleichzeitig*, as the catalogue suggests, but made around 1520 to 1530. It is definitely inferior to the painting in Washington, and the idea that Giorgione, who apparently could rarely bring himself to finish one version of his paintings, would have made such a repetition himself, seems preposterous to us.

element was eagerly taken up by northern art, which in striving for realistic effects represented the night as dark as possible. The representations of the Dutch and Flemish primitives soon influenced northern Italy. In Giorgione's own generation we know such night-pieces in the northern taste (Lotto, Savoldo), and in the seventeenth century the interest in contrasting light phenomena in this scene was such that, for instance, the inventory of 1659 mentioned above describes the "Nativity" as "ein Nachtstückh von Öhlfarb auf Holcz, warin die Geburth Christi . . ." (a night-piece in oil on panel in which the Nativity . . . is represented).<sup>12</sup>

Certainly, a hundred and fifty years earlier, in 1510, when Isabella wrote her letter to Albano, *nocte* would not have been understood as "Nativity." The *pictura de una nocte, molto bella et singolare* which Isabella had erroneously heard existed in Giorgione's estate was simply a night-piece, a specialty expressly credited to Giorgione as early as 1532 by M. A. Michiel (*St. Jerome, in casa Odoni*)<sup>13</sup> and under his influence taken up by painters like Savoldo. (The use of the definite article—*un'altra pictura dela nocte*—in Albano's answer may sound confusing for modern ears, but is only a careless repetition by a poor stylist of Isabella's inquiry after a painting representing "a night," *una nocte*.) The paintings owned by Contarini and Becharo may both have fitted the general description of nocturnal scenes, without having necessarily represented an identical subject. A confirmation may be found in the fact that M. A. Michiel, who described the paintings in T. Contarini's house as early as 1525, among the three Giorgiones did not list any Nativity, but *la tela grande a oglio de Linferno cum Enea et Anchise* (a large canvas in oil representing Hell with Eneas and Anchises), a subject which very well may have been represented as a nocturnal scene. It seems unlikely that Contarini, who in 1510 was unwilling to part with his *nocte* to please Isabella d'Este, would have let it go within the next fifteen years.

Thus, all documentary evidence produced to prove Giorgione's authorship turns out to be illusory, and we are thrown back on stylistic arguments. We have said before that in this respect the *Nativity* offers a confusing combination of old and new trends. In checking the arguments set forth by the critics to support their respective standpoints, we discover that the authors who have pondered so intensively on the painting have made quite contradictory statements. In characterizing the landscape, for instance, an authority, who felt the nearness of Giovanni Bellini so strongly as to say expressly: "If the painting is not by Giorgione it is by Bellini," asserted that the interpretation of the landscape breathes a pantheism which wholly excludes Giovanni Bellini. Berenson stated, on the contrary, that "no painting universally accepted as by Giorgione has such a landscape unrelated with the action." As for ourselves, we cannot find any trace of pantheism in the agglomeration of charming details, animated and unanimated, in this landscape, and fail to see any relationship to Giorgione's paintings of a comparable character. The objection raised by Mr. Berenson seems incontestably valid: there is no landscape in any of Giorgione's universally accepted paintings unrelated to the action. Whatever the merits of the landscape in the *Nativity* may be, it is certainly unrelated to the action, a merely accidental stage on which the action has been placed, a display of more or less attractive details, while in Giorgione the landscape always offers the accompaniment of the main scene—or the latter of the landscape. If, for instance, the figures in the *Tempesta* were eliminated, the painting would not be basically changed since the figures do not contribute anything which is not expressed by the landscape. That is just why we still do not know with absolute certainty what scene is represented. The title *Tempesta* covers indeed everything.

<sup>12</sup> The most famous of the Italian nocturnal Nativities, Correggio's *Night* in Dresden, to which Ficocco refers to sustain the identification, obtained its popular name only much later. In the agreement of 1522 it is simply called *Nativity*, and under the latter name it was offered in 1587 for purchase to the Este family. When in 1619 one Alfonso Isacchi (*Relazione interno l'originale . . . della Madonna di Reggio*) described

the painting as a night-piece and even drew the odd conclusion that it should only be seen at night or in artificial light, he never identified night with Holy Night.

<sup>13</sup> The *Anonimo*, edition G. C. Williamson, London 1903, p. 101. For the influence of the Netherlandish nocturnal Nativities on Venetian painters, see O. Schürer, in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstgeschichte*, VI, 1937, p. 189.



There is nothing of the sort in the *Nativity*: remove the figures, and the stage remains set for any other representation. This is the pre-Giorgionesque, Bellinesque landscape, as offered by many paintings of Bellini and his school and prompted by the Quattrocento fashion of studying and rendering details. Where in Giorgione do we find such brittle leafage, such insistence on the depiction of rocks, tree trunks, tufts of grass? All these details, it is true, lack in the *Nativity* the crispness and precision they would have had in a *bona fide* Giovanni Bellini painting. They are more brilliant, but at the same time more general and careless. Slates like those on the shed at the left (Fig. 5), cardboard tree trunks like that in the lower left corner, are beyond the Quattrocento in execution, though not in invention.

When we turn to the figures, similar divergencies of opinion become noticeable. The contrast between the kneeling Virgin and the other figures—in their types and in their draperies—has been repeatedly pointed out and given as many different explanations. For Berenson this rustic Mary with the parallel folds on her chest is a striking argument against Giorgione and a decisive proof of Titian's authorship, the figure being in his opinion the counterpart of the *Madonna with the Cherries* in Vienna. The same figure is called in Gronau's posthumously published article in *Art in America*<sup>14</sup> a definitely Bellinesque remnant in the midst of Giorgione's innovations. In this instance we need not rely on purely subjective impressions, but are in a position to trace the figures back to an earlier stage.

The drawing in the Royal Library in Windsor preserves the original nucleus of the composition (Fig. 3), its relationship to the painting having long since been recognized. It has been differently rated by art critics, according, by and large, to their approach to the painting. Hadeln, who accepted the painting as by Giorgione, ascribed the drawing also to him, while Parker,<sup>15</sup> who gave the *Nativity* to an anonymous master, claimed the drawing for the "Master of the Allendale Nativity." Summing up the various opinions on the drawing, reviewed more fully in our *Drawings of the Venetian Painters*, we refer to G. M. Richter's statement that the drawing belongs to a definitely earlier stage of Giorgione's career than the painting, and to Popham's<sup>16</sup> that the drawing is not an original design, but a copy after the painting. In our own opinion (*op. cit.* p. 176) the drawing is a *simile* made by an anonymous painter from an existing panel. This panel was more archaic than the *Allendale Nativity*: the Madonna and the shepherds are hieratically erect, not motherly and devout as in the painting; the Child is still more insignificant and in a more oblique position.

The model seems to have been quite well known and highly esteemed. The main group, slightly varied and with an additional second shepherd, reappears in the two versions in Washington and in Vienna, and the shepherd appears alone in a painting in the Herbert Cook Collection, Richmond, ascribed to Polidoro Lanzani (Berenson) or Francesco Vecelli (Herbert Cook). The more erect posture of the shepherd in Richmond is so much closer to the drawing than to the Allendale version that a direct dependence upon the latter, as sometimes presumed, seems unlikely. Such records made of existing composition were usually limited to the figures alone, while for the landscape the artist followed his own taste.<sup>17</sup> Thus the archaic model may have placed the figures in a relatively small scale in a large landscape just as does the *Allendale Nativity* which is based on it.

It is just this placing of the main scene within a large and predominant landscape that by some onlookers is felt as Giorgionesque. Is this view, however, justified? Could not Giovanni Bellini have taken the decisive step for which his religious allegory in the Uffizi seems to prepare? If we

<sup>14</sup> xxvi, 1938, pp. 95ff.

<sup>15</sup> K. T. Parker, *North Italian Drawings of the Quattrocento*, London, 1927, pl. 55.

<sup>16</sup> A. E. Popham, *Italian Drawings Exhibited at the Royal Academy*, London, 1930, Oxford, 1931, p. 256.

<sup>17</sup> See the numerous Bellini *Madonnas* which are exact repetitions as far as the figures go, but vary for the landscapes. Compare E. Tietze-Conrat, "An Unpublished Madonna by Giovanni Bellini and the Problem of Replicas in his Shop," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, xxxiii, 1948, pp. 379-382.



are to move on solid ground, we must examine how Giovanni Bellini might have composed a Nativity in his late years.

We know from his correspondence with Isabella d'Este, which goes back as far as 1496, that he painted such a subject.<sup>18</sup> The Duchess wanted him to paint for her *studio* one of those complicated allegories, the series of which had been begun by Mantegna. Even though he had received an advance payment, Bellini delayed the execution year after year on various excuses, until he finally declared in October 1502 that the order as a whole did not suit him, and offered a Circumcision or a Nativity instead. Isabella seems to have decided on the Nativity (*presepe*), but wished a figure of St. John the Baptist added. This was refused by Bellini, because St. John did not fit into the picture of a *presepe*, and a Madonna and Child with St. John was suggested as a substitute. Isabella accepted this offer in her letter of November 12, 1502, and wanted an additional St. Jerome, a request which again seems to have met with opposition from Bellini. On November 25 Isabella wrote that he should do whatever he liked, she was willing to accept the *presepe*, leaving to him the choice of the material (canvas or panel) and insisted only on the stipulated measurements. The painting was intended for her bedroom and thus ought to be smaller than those to be placed in the *studio*. After a new delay, extending to 1504, Isabella complained on April 10 to Alvise Marcello that Bellini had not yet delivered the promised *presepe*. This complaint seems to have provided the final impulse; on July 6 the picture was finished and delivered, and Isabella acknowledged receipt of the *presepe* on July 9.

A few passages from the last letter of July 16 of Lorenzo da Pavia, Isabella's agent in this matter, are especially illuminating: "Mi pare una ora mile a sapere como sarà piaciuto questo quadro . . . e invero la bella cosa, ma se io lavese ordinato averia voluto le figure piu grande . . . come scrise per l'altra, de invencione nessuno non po arivar a M. Andrea Mantegna che in vero è eccellentissimo e il primo, ma Giovane Belino in colorire . . . e tuti che a visto questo quadroto ognuno la comendato per una mirabile opera et è ben finite quele cose. . ."

The following inferences can be drawn from this correspondence: (1) that Bellini's painting represented a *presepe*, for which reason all efforts to identify it with some Santa Conversazione listed in later Mantuan inventories are doomed to failure;<sup>19</sup> (2) that it was of medium size, since Lorenzo da Pavia calls it alternatively *quadro* and *quadretto*, and that it was certainly smaller than the paintings in Isabella's *studio* (63 1/4 by 75 7/8 inches); (3) that Isabella left to Bellini the choice of painting it either on wood or on canvas, and that consequently Bellini probably decided on wood, his customary material for smaller paintings; (4) that Isabella's agent disapproved of the small size of the figures and would have preferred to have them larger. The composition seems to have in some way run counter to the prevailing taste.

What sort of composition of a *presepe* might a man like Lorenzo da Pavia have expected and preferred? It would be easier to imagine how the Circumcision might have looked which Bellini offered to Isabella along with the *Nativity*, since paintings of this subject by Bellini and his school are preserved which present groups composed of half-figures. From the whole context and Isabella's later letter of October 19, 1505, as well, we may infer that Bellini was very busy, and disinclined to start on a new invention. The *presepe*, too, which he offered must have been one of his standard productions, just as, for instance, in the next generation Titian offered the German Emperor a list of all those compositions which he had already made for the Court of Spain. There is, however, no such late *presepe* by Bellini preserved; the only one at which we may guess is the archaic figure group which is reflected in the Windsor drawing. The connection of the latter with the Bellini tradition is close enough, as a comparison with the Pesaro altarpiece of a much earlier date, it is true, makes evident.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> W. Braghirolli, in *Archivio veneto*, XIII, 1877, II, p. 370.

<sup>19</sup> As in Philip Hendy, *Giovanni Bellini*, London, 1945, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> Hendy, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

Since a *presepe* was delivered by Bellini in 1504, and the Windsor drawing recalls the composition for Pesaro in the position of the Child and the rigid character of the Madonna, and since furthermore the importance of the composition is confirmed by its various repetitions, the inference seems legitimate that the figure group in the Windsor drawing may be traced back to Bellini and that the *Nativity* painted for Isabella contained a similar arrangement of figures. The fact that these figures occupied a relatively small space in the landscape may have been the reason for Lorenzo da Pavia's criticism. In two passages of his letters he compares Bellini with Mantegna whom he prefers for the composition. Only one *Nativity* by Mantegna or his circle is preserved, the one in the Metropolitan Museum, a composition based on careful preparation. Of the figures of the Madonna and the shepherds *simile* drawings exist, which evidently, however, are put together incorrectly in the painting. The two shepherds at right were meant for a place farther back. Though about to kneel down and worship the Christ Child, they are not even headed in his direction. Whatever its relation to Mantegna's original composition may be, the relation of the figures to the landscape is certainly different from that in the Washington painting. The figures predominate, and the landscape offers only a setting. Even in late Mantegna paintings, as for instance in the *Allegories* painted for Isabella's *studio*, now in the Louvre, where the figures are relatively smaller, each detail taken singly—rocks, grass, trees or distant view—remains subordinate to the figures and has no existence of its own. If the figures were suppressed, an empty stage would remain as dismally gloomy as a theater the morning after the play. In the *Allendale Nativity*, removal of the figures would still leave a landscape of some interest to the spectator, although, as explained above, in an authentic Giorgione the whole mood of the painting would remain unchanged, even without the figures.

We reach the conclusion that the *Nativity* executed for Isabella d'Este by Giovanni Bellini in 1504 was based on the more archaic group of three figures as preserved in the Windsor drawing and had the figures placed within a relatively spacious landscape. This description would fit the Washington *Nativity* well enough, were it not for a definitely more modern touch. Not only the lack of precision in the landscape detail emphasized above, but the unmistakable modernity of the figures, points to an artist of the new generation. We may presume that Giovanni Bellini would have made every effort to bring even one of his standard compositions up to current taste, when executing it for such an important patron. But could he, in view of his advanced age, have taken such a long step? Or did he profit by the presence in his shop of able assistants, to one of whom the execution of this important order could be entrusted? And if so, to whom? First of all the two, then young, artists who have already been suggested as author of the painting, Giorgione and Titian, must be taken into consideration. Giorgione, it is true, had in 1504 already been an independent master for several years and thus would hardly have worked for Bellini, but Titian may have been an assistant in the shop, although the chronology of his contacts with Bellini is by no means sufficiently clarified.

When discussing the Windsor drawing in our *Drawings of the Venetian Painters*, we rejected Giorgione's authorship of the *Allendale Nativity* because the modernization of the old scheme seemed awkward to us. The insertion of the fourth figure is not cleverly done; it cuts clumsily into the shepherd and flock in the middle group. As late as in 1504 Giorgione should have been beyond this stage. In fact art critics who pleaded for his authorship dated the painting earlier: Longhi *ca.* 1500 under the influence of Bellini, Gronau 1500-1502, Phillips 1500-1503, Richter (*Giorgione and His Circle*, p. 14) early, "painted in Bellini's studio," Suida before the *Storm* and probably before the Castelfranco *Madonna*, the latter traditionally placed in 1504. Is it possible that Giorgione, when still close to Bellini, let us say in the late 1490's, took up his master's invention, the same that was later used for Isabella d'Este, and enriched it with his own additions? In this case the



painting should offer not only the inexperience of youth, but also the types of Giorgione in his youth. We can hardly find any relationship of the shepherds to these types, except perhaps to those in the equally questionable *Fire Ordeal of Moses*, and we certainly discover the heavy rusticity of Titian in the figure of the Virgin. Something of this nature might be looked for only in Giorgione's late works, where, however, nothing comparable exists.

In our opinion the painting offers the characteristics of a composition carefully prepared in a big shop. It has been put together by the help of separate studies, and possibly by different hands. This might account for striking disproportions of the figures: the standing shepherd is colossal compared to his kneeling companion, the angel above the tree on the left is ridiculously small, the angels' heads in front of the cave are entirely out of scale. The closest analogy is offered by the two shop productions in the Uffizi, the *Fire Ordeal of Moses* and the *Judgment of Solomon*, for which we refer to the careful analyses by Suida and by Phillips.<sup>21</sup>

In the picture first mentioned the figures are modern and the landscape archaic, while in the *Judgment of Solomon* the division of labor is exactly the opposite: the landscape is executed by a hand more modern than that responsible for the figures. According to Phillips, who felt a similar lack of homogeneity in the *Nativity*, "the design and landscape are by Giorgione, but the group in front of the cave is by a pupil of Bellini borrowed for the purpose." This would mean that Giorgione made the general design and devoted himself to painting the landscape only, and for the figures gave a free hand to an assistant, who fulfilled his task by borrowing a model from Bellini and modernizing it. This seems a very unusual procedure.

It seems the more so because in our opinion, as mentioned above, the landscape looks neither designed, nor executed, by Giorgione. It follows the tradition found in Bellini's late works. The use of repoussoirs, the deep foreground, the rendering of the foliage, correspond to the *Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr* in London. The paths winding into the distance appear in the landscape of *Summa Virtus* in Venice. Further closely related details are offered by the foliage in the *Madonna and Child with Saints and the Doge Agostino Barbarigo*, in San Pietro Martire, Murano (Fig. 6) (Hendy-Goldscheider 58), executed in 1488, which at the *Mostra d'Arte Veneta* in Lausanne in the summer of 1947 could for the first time be given close examination.

The emphasis on details, heightened by the recent cleaning, is the strongest argument against Giorgione. In the *Tempest*, to which as "the autograph Giorgione" (Phillips) we always have to return, nothing similar is found. Here tonality prevails over local colors. This must have been Giorgione's hallmark. Otherwise Vasari would not have derived his *chiaroscuro* from Leonardo da Vinci and characterized his paintings as *morbide ed unite e sfumate . . . negli scuri*.<sup>22</sup> Another of Giorgione's characteristics, which a thorough examination of the two archetype Giorgiones in Venice and Vienna disclose, is his way of drawing the outlines. He uses a halting, almost timid, line which swells and diminishes, occasionally splits, and never attains or attempts a fluid stroke. It is so unmistakable that it takes on the character of a personal handwriting. Nothing like it is encountered in the *Nativity*. Here every portion is modeled by the brush without any insistence on outlining; shadows rather than lines mark the edges. Where an outright borderline is drawn, it is distinguished by a bold energy basically different from Giorgione's timid handling of the outlines. To this a still more technical detail strongly stressed by Mr. Berenson has to be added: the cracks follow a pattern unlike that of Giorgione's authentic paintings and more similar to Titian's.<sup>23</sup>

Titian's presumed authorship of the painting, or at least his share in it, is more difficult to investigate, since the problem leads into the darkness which obscures the early activity of an artist.

<sup>21</sup> D. Phillips, *The Leadership of Giorgione*, p. 35.

<sup>22</sup> Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 92.

<sup>23</sup> A thorough technical investigation of the painting may

provide interesting results. Unfortunately in spite of our repeated efforts no x-ray photograph was obtainable.



The *Nativity* would indeed, as Mr. Berenson suggests, be Titian's earliest painting if it originated in Bellini's *bottega* in or around 1504, four years before his participation in Giorgione's murals on the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. The latter, which we know only through Zanetti's engravings, may be preceded by the *Votive Painting of Jacopo Pesaro* in Antwerp, the only work which some critics place at the time of Titian's connection with Giovanni Bellini. The donor and his patron in the right half of the composition, dated by Tietze around 1507,<sup>24</sup> confirm Berenson's remarks about the Virgin in the *Nativity*. They offer not only the same directness, almost naïveté, of approach, characteristic of a young powerful artist ready to break his fetters, but also a noteworthy relationship in the treatment of the draperies. As in the *Nativity*, in the Pesaro panel, too, the discrepancy between portions of the composition is striking and has been commented upon, though differently explained, by all art critics. St. Peter, on the left, was either painted by Titian at an earlier date (according to Tietze ca. 1505, before Dürer's momentous appearance in Venice), or executed by a painter of the preceding generation whose canvas young Titian would have finished.

The situation in the *Nativity* is somewhat analogous. Here, too, the contrast between the Titianesque Virgin and the other figures, the frankly Bellinesque Joseph and the hardly Bellinesque, but certainly un-Titianesque, shepherds has been noticed. The lesser weight of Titian's personality may be explained by the earlier date of the *Nativity*. Titian would have been a couple of years younger and consequently more completely under the influence of his master. Moreover the *Nativity*, as we have tried to demonstrate, is as a whole firmly rooted in the Bellini tradition and was perhaps ordered of Giovanni Bellini, while the votive painting in Antwerp, though also starting from an older pattern, has broken it and replaced it by a more modern idea. We wonder whether the youthful Titian, whose personal expression would begin to emerge in the figure of the Virgin, would have been willing to suppress his personality in the rendering of the other figures and the landscape. Titian was not the only one of Bellini's pupils who, according to literary tradition, was capable of imitating his master's style faithfully, up to the point of being taken for him in his works.<sup>25</sup> We must also keep in mind that these un-Titianesque figures in the *Nativity* closely resemble figures in other paintings to which the *Nativity* has always been linked. The relationship of the long folds with metallic edges to those in the Ex-Benson *Holy Family* (Düven) or the *Adoration of the Magi* in the National Gallery, London,<sup>26</sup> is obvious and so is that of the lanky and sentimental-looking young men. These paintings, always put into the same group as the *Nativity*, were claimed for the old standby Vincenzo Catena by Van Marle,<sup>27</sup> were called Bellinesque-Giorgionesque Anonymous by A. Venturi,<sup>28</sup> and listed somewhat quizzically by Phillips as "studio of Giorgione 1500/1501, preparatory steps for the *Nativity*." Thus figures of a similar style appear in other paintings of the same circle, paintings which nobody has ever claimed nor ever would claim for Titian, even in his earliest youth. Apparently the "unknown assistant of Bellini borrowed," in Phillips' words, "for painting the figures" was not Titian, but probably an older and more experienced member of the shop, an old hand in following his master's routine. Whether the adolescent Titian was allowed to have a hand in the painting of the Virgin, or whether the older colleague borrowed a leaf from his book, seems to us an insoluble question. At any rate, to our mind, this Titianesque element is too light to tip the scales in favor of an outright attribution of the whole painting to Titian.

For us the *Nativity* is a work of Giovanni Bellini, painted in his shop and with considerable par-

<sup>24</sup> H. Tietze, *Titian*, Vienna, 1936, I, pp. 58f.; II, p. 283.

<sup>25</sup> Ridolfi-Hadef, I, p. 152. The same adaptability is claimed for Giulio Campagnola by Matteo Bruno in one of his family letters (A. Luzio, in *Archivio storico dell'arte* I, 1888, p. 84).

<sup>26</sup> Illustrated in Phillips, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1938, XVIII, p. 398.

<sup>28</sup> Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, 3, Milan, 1928, pp. 58, 64.

ticipation of assistants, among whom Giorgione cannot be recognized, though Titian might be, at least with some plausibility. The painting may be the one planned and executed for Isabella d'Este in 1504, and may thus represent a determined effort of the aged artist to live up to this extraordinary opportunity and, by the collaboration of younger minds, to keep up with the modern trends.

NEW YORK CITY

# A TENTATIVE "SHORT-TITLE" CHECK-LIST OF THE WORKS OF COL. JOHN TRUMBULL

THEODORE SIZER

## III\*

**T**RUMBULL, as a portraitist, displayed but little psychological insight, except when he held the mirror to himself. Corporal realities were rendered with knowledge, skill, and technical nicety in the conventional manner of the day. There were few accessories; formal composition played but little part. The likenesses satisfied his sitters—in those innocent bygone days, when ignorance of photographic exactitude was bliss. To the usual three-quarter turned head a certain characterization and individualization was all that was necessary. Though we find many of his life-size effigies on canvas dull, the persons represented are usually interesting and important; for Trumbull painted "Very Important People." However, his miniatures, especially those of the early 1790's, are enchanting. Considerable aesthetic pleasure may be derived from these lovely little oils (always on mahogany and never the customary water color on ivory), in which the lack of compositional pattern is unnoticed. William Dunlap, the author and miniature painter, who detested Trumbull, confessed that they were "among the most admirable miniatures in oil that ever were painted" (*Arts of Design*, II, p. 39).

What Trumbull thought of Dunlap's miniatures is unrecorded, but it is certain it would have been neither complimentary nor charitable. He did admire the work of his English friend, fourteen years his senior, Richard Cosway, the most celebrated miniaturist of his time. He also thought highly of that of his fellow countryman, Edward Greene Malbone, twenty-one years his junior, who "painted the finest miniatures in the history of the art in America" (Wehle, *American Miniatures*, p. 36). The "Patriot-Artist" (who was painted by Malbone) is, therefore, bracketed midway between the two best English-speaking practitioners on either side of the Atlantic.

Towards the end of his life a newfangled contraption, the clumsy box camera, began seriously to compete with miniature painting. It was the decade of the 1840's that Daguerreotypes reached their greatest popularity. When Trumbull died in 1843 the charming, delicate art of miniature painting had sadly declined—replaced by cheap photography.

As to the illustrations: the contrast between the portrait of the old governor, the legendary "Brother Jonathan," the artist's father (Fig. 1), and that of Mrs. Thomas Sully (Fig. 2), painted thirty-two years later in New York, is so striking that it requires no comment. Dunlap's reference to the latter is characteristic: "Sully sacrificed one hundred dollars . . . and carried his wife to Trumbull's rooms, as a sitter, that he might see his mode of painting, and have a specimen of his pencil. He gained some knowledge for his money, and probably learned to imitate the neatness with which palette and pencils and oils and varnishes were used and preserved . . . and he gained a model, which served him as a beacon, warning him of that which it was necessary to avoid" (*Arts of Design*, II, p. 246).

\* For Parts I and II of this Check-List, see THE ART BULLETIN, XXX, 1948, pp. 214-223 and 260-269.



As John Trumbull (Fig. 3), Harvard 1773, the painter, and John Trumbull (Fig. 4), his second cousin, Yale 1767, the author of the satirical narrative poem, *M'Fingal*, are so often confused, it is interesting to compare these two portraits. The latter is in the artist's fully developed style. The former is a soul-revealing self-portrait of the ex-soldier as he appeared on his return to his celebrated father's house in Lebanon, Connecticut, immediately after having flamboyantly resigned his commission as colonel in the Continental Forces at the age of twenty-one. The wide-opened eyed, serious sitter was something of a psychopathic case—a brilliant, sickly youth and haughty, frustrated, querulous man.

The existence of a large corpus of fraudulent drawings was noted in the first article. Some are clumsy, ill-executed performances (especially those from the Frossard Collection), as can be seen in glancing at the sketches of General St. Clair, genuine (Fig. 7) and false (Fig. 6). The portrait of the Newburyport merchant, Patrick Tracy (Fig. 5), was executed at London in 1784 under the eye of his master, mentor, and life-long friend, the benign Benjamin West.

Colonel Trumbull lived in two eras; he was a British colonial for twenty years and citizen of these United States for sixty-eight; but he remained true to the spirit and practice of the eighteenth century to the end.

This tentative check-list, which has appeared in the last three numbers of THE ART BULLETIN, will be republished, a year hence, by the Yale University Press, in book form after the rectification of inevitable errors. A "definitive" check-list of widely scattered works of a long-lived, productive artist, such as Trumbull, can never be aught but an approximation. The author repeats once again that attributions, unsupported by documentation, are based on personal opinion.

## CHECK-LIST

### PART III

#### PORTRAITS

(M to Z)

JAMES MADISON, (1751-1836), bust, ca. 1805 at New York (?); Mrs. Arthur (Eleanor Jay) Iselin, Katonah, N.Y.

James Madison, probably from above, No. 17 in the *Resignation*.

LAURENCE MANNING, (1756-1804), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.77.

DR. EDWARD PREBLE MARCELLIN, (M.D. 1829, d. 1863), ca. 1830 at New York; Kennedy & Co., New York.

MARIE ANTOINETTE, (1755-1793), and HER CHILDREN, (French), ink sketch, after Vigée-Le Brun, 1787 at Paris; Yale, No. 1947.478.

GEN. EBENEZER MATTOON of Amherst, Mass., 1838 at New Haven, (noted by Professor Benjamin Silliman); lost.

Lieut. Col. Hamilton Maxwell, (d. 1800), (British), 73rd Regt. of (Highland) Foot, 1784-1787 at London, No. 6 in *Gibraltar*.

GEORGE MEADE, (1741-1808), bust, ca. 1790 at

Philadelphia; Mrs. Richard Worsam Meade IV, Mt. Kisco, N.Y.

Maj. Return Jonathan Meigs, (1740-1823), 2nd Connecticut Regt., not from life, No. 7 in *Quebec*.

BRIG. GEN. HUGH MERCER, (ca. 1725-1777), posthumous, pencil study made of his eldest son, John, 1791 at Fredericksburg, Va., (1st Silliman Sale No. 40); Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 06.1346.2.

—, same, (1st Silliman Sale No. 41); Fordham.

—, (?), same, but probably of one of Mercer's younger sons, (1st Silliman Sale No. 52); Fordham.

Brig. Gen. Hugh Mercer, Continental Army, after the above, No. 6 in *Princeton*.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON, (1742-1787), miniature (?), 1790 at "Middleton Place," Charleston, S.C., posthumous, copied after the Benjamin West group portrait of 1771, (now owned by Henry Middleton Drinker, Jenkintown, Penn.); lost. Arthur Middleton, from the above, No. 14 in the *Declaration*.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, (1744-1800), miniature, head

- three-quarters to right, 1790 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.75.
- , slightly more full-faced, 1790 at Philadelphia; lost.
- Brig. Gen. Thomas Mifflin, from the miniature, No. 1 in *Princeton*.
- Thomas Mifflin, from the miniature, No. 1 in the *Resignation*.
- STEPHEN MINOT, (born ca. 1772-3), bust, 1806 at New York; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., No. 79.333.
- MRS. STEPHEN (SARAH OR "SALLY" MINOT) MINOT, (married 1805), bust, 1806 at New York; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., No. 79.334.
- , bust, same as above but somewhat idealized, 1806 at New York; Mrs. Edward D. Brandegee, "Faulkner Farm," Brookline, Mass.
- MRS. MITCHEL, "wife of an English clergyman," before 1815 in England, (1844 auction sale No. 19); lost.
- (Earl of Moira, see Lord Rawdon).
- 1st. Lieut. James Monroe, (1758-1831), 3rd Virginia Regt., ca. 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 4 in *Trenton*.
- James Monroe, ca. 1816 at Washington (?), No. 15 in the *Resignation*.
- (duc de Montmorency, see vicomte de Laval).
- Maj. Gen. Richard Montgomery, (1738-killed in the assault on Quebec 1775), Continental Army, posthumous, No. 1 in *Quebec*.
- Maj. Willard Moore, (killed at Bunker's Hill 1775), Doolittle's Massachusetts Regt., posthumous, No. 8 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- ALEXANDER MOORE, small full-length, on copper, 1784 at London; Mrs. John Insley Blair, Tuxedo Park, N.Y.
- BRIG. GEN. DANIEL MORGAN, (ca. 1736-1802), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, after C. W. Peale, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.62.
- , sketch for engraving; lost.
- Col. Daniel Morgan, 11th Virginia Regt., from miniature, No. 16 in *Saratoga*.
- Cadwalader Morris, (1741-1795), No. 21 in the *Resignation*.
- Lewis Morris, (1726-1798), ca. 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 12 in the *Declaration*.
- ROBERT MORRIS, (1734-1806), miniature, 1790 at Philadelphia; Mrs. Philip L. Poe, Ruxton, Md.
- Robert Morris, from above, No. 17 in the *Declaration*.
- MRS. ROBERT (MARY WHITE) MORRIS, (married 1769), miniature, 1790 at Philadelphia; Mrs. Philip L. Poe, Ruxton, Md.
- , half-length to right, engraved by H. Wright Smith; lost.
- (Mrs. Washington Morton, see Cornelia Schuyler).
- (Count de Mosley, see Louis Guillaume Otto).
- MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM MOULTRIE, (1731-1805), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.49.
- Brig. Gen. John Peter Muhlenberg, (1746-1807), Continental Army, before 1807, No. 27 in *Yorktown*.
- (Louisa and Susan Monroe, see The Misses Lenter).
- JOHN MURRAY, (1737-1808), half-length, ca. 1806 at New York, (previously misidentified as Robert Murray, 1721-1786); Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 22.76.1.
- MRS. JOHN (HANNAH LINDLEY) MURRAY, (married 1766), (previously misidentified as Mrs. Robert-Mary Lindley-Murray, married 1744); same as above, No. 22.76.2.
- THE MISSES MURRAY, (MARY and HANNAH, daughters of the above), wash drawing, 1806 at New York, (1st Silliman Sale No. 131); Mrs. Harold K. English, New Haven, Conn.
- , large double portrait, 1806 at New York; Mrs. Thomas A. (Elizabeth Hoffman McVickar) Fransioli, Junior, Cambridge, Mass.
- BRIG. GEN. JOHN NEILSON, (1745-1833), bust, 1807 at New York; Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.
- Thomas Nelson, Junior, (1738-1789), not from life, No. 36 in the *Declaration*.
- , No. 18 in *Yorktown*.
- SIR ISAAC NEWTON, (1642-1727), (British), from an engraving, 1772-1773 at Cambridge, Mass. *Autobiography* No. 10; lost.
- THOMAS JACKSON OAKLEY, (1783-1857), miniature, 1827 at New York; Yale, No. 1832.70.
- Lieut. Matthias Ogden, (1754-1791), Volunteer, not from life, No. 12 in *Quebec*.
- DAVID BAYARD OGDEN, (1769-1849), miniature, 1827 at New York; Yale, No. 1832.74.
- LIEUT. COL. JEREMIAH OLNEY, (1750-1812), portrait drawing, 1793 at Newport or Providence, R.I.; lost.
- SAMUEL OSGOOD, (1748-1813), half-length, ca. 1805 at New York; William B. Osgood Field, Lake Mohegan, N.Y.
- Samuel Osgood, probably from the above, No. 5 in the *Resignation*.
- MRS. SAMUEL (MARIA BOWNE) OSGOOD (widow of Walter Franklin), (1754-1814), ca. 1805 at New York; William B. Osgood Field, Lake Mohegan, N.Y.
- Louis Guillaume Otto, Count de Mosley, (1754-1818), (French), half-length, ca. 1800 at Lon-

- don, (stipple engraving in color by P. Roberts); lost.
- William Paca, (1740-1799), *ca.* 1790 in Maryland, No. 9 in the *Declaration*.  
(Mary Paddock, see Mrs. Edward Gray).
- Robert Treat Paine, (1731-1814), *ca.* 1790 at Boston, Mass., No. 21 in the *Declaration*.
- Thomas Paine, (1737-1809), on wood, before 1809, belonging to Thomas Jefferson; lost.
- "MR. PALMER, an Artist of London," (1844 auction sale No. 20 and purchased by "Lanman"), possibly WILLIAM PALMER, (Irish), (1763-1790) and painted between 1786 and 1789 at London; or (a mistake in auction catalogue?) that of William Ellis, owned by Jonathan Trumbull Lanman.
- (Joseph Palmer, see Lieut. Joseph Budworth).  
(Mrs. William L. Palmer, see Augusta Temple).
- Lieut. Col. Moses Parker, (died of wounds received at Bunker's Hill 1775), Bridge's Massachusetts Regt., posthumous, No. 5 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- Lieut. Col. Josiah Parker, (1751-1810), 5th Virginia Regt., before 1810 in Virginia, No. 3 in *Trenton*.
- GEORGE PARTRIDGE, (1740-1828), "profile" (a sketch?), 1823 at New York (?); lost.
- , "portrait," same date (from the above?); lost.
- George Partridge, from the portrait, No. 7 in the *Resignation*.
- MADAME PAYEN, (French), sketch, 1786 in France; lost.
- (Rebecca Amory Payne, see Mrs. Christopher Gore).
- "GOOD PETER," CHIEF OF THE ONEIDA INDIANS, miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.67.
- (Mrs. Thomas Peter, see Martha Custis).
- Maj. Gen. William Phillips, (1731-1781). (British), Royal Regt. of Artillery, posthumous, No. 10 in *Saratoga*.
- (Mrs. Henry Phillips, see Sophia Chew).
- Col. Timothy Pickering, (1745-1829), Quartermaster-General, Continental Army, *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 30 in *Yorktown*.
- BRIG. GEN. CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY, (1746-1825), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed on back; Yale No. 1832.48.
- , miniature, 1791 at Charleston; Edward Rutledge Pinckney, Charleston, S.C.
- MAJ. THOMAS PINCKNEY, (1750-1828), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.46.
- , miniature, 1791 at Charleston; Langbourne M. Williams, Junior, Rapidan, Va., and New York.
- , miniature, 1791 at Charleston; Edward Rutledge Pinckney, Charleston, S.C.
- , (?), miniature, presumably of the same date; Thurman Chapman, Winston-Salem, N.C.
- WILLIAM PINKNEY, (?), (1764-1822); lost.
- MRS. WILLIAM (ANN MARIA RODGERS) PINKNEY, (1789-1849), half-length, *ca.* 1800 at London; Mrs. Isabelle McCoy Jones, Washington, D.C.
- JOHN PINTARD, (1759-1844), bust, 1817 at New York; New-York Historical Society, No. 591.
- Maj. John Pitcairn, (1722-died from wounds received at Bunker's Hill 1775), (British), Royal Marines, posthumous, No. 14 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- DR. DAVID PITCAIRN, (1749-1809), (British), eldest son of the above, drawing, 1786 at London, (1st Silliman Sale No. 46); lost.
- Lieut. William Pitcairn, son of Maj. Pitcairn, (British), Royal Marines, if from life 1784-1787 at London, No. 16 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- JONAS PLATT, (1769-1834), half-length, 1826 at New York, (engraved by Asher B. Durand); lost.
- SAMUEL POWEL, (1739-1793), miniature, on wood, (copy on ivory; Samuel Powel, Utica, N.Y.), *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia; lost.
- Col. William Prescott, (1726-1795), Massachusetts Militia, not from life, No. 3 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- , if from life before 1794, No. 15 in *Saratoga*.
- NATHANIEL PRIME, (1768-1840), half-length, 1805 at New York; Lincoln Baylies, Brookline, Mass.
- MRS. NATHANIEL (CORNELIA SANDS) PRIME, (1773-1852), (mother of Frederic Prime), half-length, 1805 at New York; same as above.
- MRS. FREDERIC (MARY RUTHERFORD JAY) PRIME, (1810-1835), half-length, 1829 at Norwich, Conn. (?); Mrs. Howland Russell, New York, (color chart for portrait, dated 1829; Yale).
- MAJ. GEN. ISRAEL PUTNAM, (1718-1790), pencil sketch, before 1790, (1st Silliman Sale No. 37); Putnam Phalanx, Hartford, Conn.
- Col. Israel Putnam, Continental Army, from above, No. 2 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- BRIG. GEN. RUFUS PUTNAM, (1738-1824), miniature, 1790 at New York, signed and dated on back, (U.S. postage stamp, No. 795, 3¢, violet, 1937); Yale No. 1832.51.
- Col. Rufus Putnam, 5th Massachusetts Regt., from above, No. 17 in *Saratoga*.
- JACOB RADCLIFF, (1764-1841), bust, 1816 at New York; City Hall, New York.
- Col. Johann Gottlieb Rall, (killed at the Battle of Trenton, 1776), (German), No. 5 in *Trenton*.



- Lieut. Francis, Lord Rawdon, (later Earl of Moira and still later Marquis of Hastings), (1754-1826), (British), 63rd Regt. of Foot, not from life, No. 17 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- George Read, (1733-1798), *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 44 in the *Declaration*.
- JACOB READ, (1753-1816), miniature, 1793 at Charleston, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.52.
- Jacob Read, from above, No. 16 in the *Resignation*.
- BRIG. GEN. JAMES REED, (?) (1722-1807), (copy "after Trumbull" in the State House, Concord, N.H.); lost (?).
- Maj. Gen. Friedrich Adolf Riedesel, Baron Eisenbach, (1738-1800), (German), No. 12 in *Saratoga*.
- (Dorothea Remsen, see Mrs. Abraham Brinckerhoff).
- DAVID RITTENHOUSE, (1732-1796), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; Miss Elizabeth Sergeant Abbot, Philadelphia, Penn.
- , bust, 1792 at Philadelphia; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Penn.
- (Althea Robinson, see Mrs. Abel Stiles).
- (Faith Robinson, see Mrs. Jonathan Trumbull, Senior).
- LIEUT. GEN. JEAN BAPTISTE DONATIEU DE VIMEUR, COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU, (1725-1807), (French), painted sketch, 1787 in France; lost.
- Lieut. Gen. Rochambeau, from above, No. 14 in *Yorktown*.
- (Ann Maria Rodgers, see Mrs. William Pinkney).
- MOSES ROGERS, (1779-1821), bust, 1806 at New York; Mrs. H. Schuyler Cammann, Syosset, Long Island, N.Y.
- (Rebecca Rogers, see Mrs. James Codwise).
- WILLIAM ROGERS, (1761-1817), bust, 1804-1808 at New York National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., No. NGA 921.
- , (?), belonging to the Delancey-Coster family; lost.
- Mlle. ROSAMONDE, (French), pupil of Mme. Guiard, pen and crayon, 1787 at Paris, (1st Silliman Sale No. 114); Yale, No. 1947.494.
- Maj. Gen. Charles Ross, (d. 1814), (British), if from life 1784-1787 at London, No. 2 in *Gibraltar*.
- BRYAN ROSSITER, (*ca.* 1760-1834), bust, *ca.* 1808 at New York; New-York Historical Society, No. 642.
- PETER PAUL RUBENS, (1577-1640), (Flemish), "miniature," from a print, 1772-1773 at Cambridge, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 19; lost.
- , "head, copied from a picture in possession of Governor Hancock," 1778 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 49; lost.
- Dr. Benjamin Rush, (1745-1813), *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia, No. 19 in the *Declaration*.
- , military surgeon, No. 3 in *Princeton*.
- THOMAS RUSSELL, (1746-1796), and his third wife, ELIZABETH WATSON RUSSELL, (1767-1809), double portrait, full-length, 1793 at Boston; James Amory Sullivan, Beverly, Mass.
- EDWARD RUTLEDGE, (1749-1800), sketch (?), possibly one of the 20 "heads" painted or drawn at Charleston, S.C. in 1790; lost.
- Edward Rutledge, from the above, No. 46 in the *Declaration*.
- ELIZA (ELIZABETH) RUTLEDGE, daughter of John Rutledge, (later Mrs. Henry Laurens, Junior), (1776-1842), half-length, 1790 at Charleston, S.C.; Mrs. Donald A. McPherson, Washington, D.C.
- , another portrait or a miniature (?), same time and place; lost (?).
- , (?), miniature; Lamar Garmany, Stony Creek, Conn.
- JOHN RUTLEDGE, (1739-1800), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.47.
- , (?) replica, 1791 at Charleston, S.C.; Miss Marie Rutledge, Greenville, S.C.
- , (?), Mrs. C. C. Pinckney; Charleston, S.C.
- , (?), James Rose Rutledge, (in 1938).
- , (?), Lamar Garmany, Stony Creek, Conn.
- MRS. JOHN (ELIZABETH GRIMKÉ) RUTLEDGE, (married 1763-d.1792), miniature (?), 1790 at Charleston, S.C.; lost.
- , (?), miniature, Lamar Garmany, Stony Creek, Conn.
- STATES RUTLEDGE, (1783-1829), son of John Rutledge, miniature (?), 1790 at Charleston, S.C.; lost.
- "THE YOUNG SACHEM," CHIEF OF THE SIX NATIONS, miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.42.
- MAJ. GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, (1736-1818), pencil sketch, 1790 at New York, (1st Silliman Sale No. 39); Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 06.1346.3.
- Peter Salem, in *Bunker's Hill* (on extreme right—no key number).
- , in "Lieutenant Grosvenor and his negro servant," study for *Bunker's Hill*.
- Lieut. Gen. Claude Anne, marquis de St. Simon, (1740-1819), (French), No. 7 in *Yorktown*.
- MR. SANDERSON, before 1815, probably at London; lost.
- MRS. SANDERSON, same as above.
- (Cornelia Sands, see Mrs. Nathaniel Prime).

- WINTHROP SARGENT, (1753-1820), pencil sketch, (1st Silliman Sale No. 45); lost.
- Col. Alexander Scammell, (1747-1781), 3rd New Hampshire Regt., not from life, No. 8 in *Saratoga*.
- BARTHOLOMEW SCHAETS (OF SKAATS), bust, ca. 1816 at New York; M. Knoedler & Co., Inc., New York.
- MRS. BARTHOLOMEW (DEBORAH—?) SCHAETS, half-length; same as above.
- (Angelica Schuyler, see Mrs. John Barker Church).
- CORNELIA SCHUYLER (later Mrs. Washington Morton), (1776-1808), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.56.
- MAJ. GEN. PHILIP SCHUYLER, (1733-1804), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale No. 1832.64.
- PHILIP SCHUYLER, miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; New-York Historical Society, No. 665.
- Philip Schuyler, from above, No. 23 in *Saratoga*. (—, see miniature of an Unknown Man.)
- THEODORE SEDGWICK, (1747-1813), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.43.
- MRS. SEWALL; lost since 1843.
- MRS. SEWALL'S TWO SONS; same as above.
- JULIA SEYMOUR, (later Mrs. John Chenevard), (1769-1843), miniature, 1792 at Lebanon, Conn., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.39.
- CAPT. THOMAS YOUNGS SEYMOUR, (1757-1811), Continental Dragoons, miniature, 1793 at Hartford, Conn., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.28.
- , from above, No. 4 in *Saratoga*.
- MISS A. SHEAFFE, "small head," on copper, 1779 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 60; lost.
- MISS P. SHEAFFE, same, *Autobiography* No. 59; lost.
- Col. William Shepard (also spelled Shepherd), (1737-1817), 3rd Continental Infantry, ca. 1793 in Massachusetts, No. 2 in *Trenton*.
- Roger Sherman, (1721-1793), ca. 1790 at Philadelphia, No. 32 in the *Declaration*.
- CAPT. THOMAS SHUBRICK, (ca. 45 years old), (aide-de-camp to Gen. Greene), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed and dated on back; Dr. George Clymer, Boston, Mass.
- MR. SHUTTLEWORTH, (possibly Samuel Shuttleworth, Harvard, A.B. 1777, d. 1834, or Ashton Shuttleworth, British, Major, Royal Artillery, 1754-1830), "small whole length," before 1784 at London; lost.
- MRS. CHARLES (LYDIA HUNTLEY) SIGOURNEY, (1791-1865), half-length, 1834 at Hartford, Conn.; Wadsworth Atheneum, No. 1863.7.
- BENJAMIN SILLIMAN, (1779-1864), bust, ca. 1805 at New Haven or New York; Dr. and Mrs. Forbes Hawkes, New York.
- , 1825 at New York; lost.
- MRS. BENJAMIN (HARRIET TRUMBULL) SILLIMAN, (1783-1850), 1825 (?) at New York (?); Miss Angelica Schuyler Church, Ossining, N.Y.
- , replica, 1834 at New York; lost.
- (Faith Wadsworth Silliman, see Mrs. Oliver Payson Hubbard).
- L. SIMOND, "portrait—with hands," 1806 at New York, (S. Simond & Co., merchants, 66 Pine Street); lost.
- SAMUEL SITGREAVES, (1764-1827), bust, ca. 1820 at New York, Thomas Hubbard Vail Motter, New York.
- Maj. John Small, (1726-1796), (British), 84th Regt. of Foot, (Royal Highland Emigrants), if from life, ca. 1784 at London, No. 15 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- ("Rev. D. Smalley," see Maurice Swabey).
- MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM SMALLWOOD, (1732-1792), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, after C. W. Peale, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.60.
- Brig. Gen. William Smallwood, from above, No. 25 in the *Resignation*.
- MRS. JULIUS (SARAH ALLEN) SMITH, half-length, ca. 1816 at New York (?); Chicago Historical Society.
- Lieut. Col. Samuel Smith, (1752-1839), Lee's Additional Continental Regt., ca. 1790 (?) in Maryland (?), No. 27 in the *Resignation*.
- WILLIAM LOUGHTON SMITH, (1758-1812), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1936.116.
- Maj. William Stephens Smith, (1755-1816), 1787 at London, No. 6 in *Trenton*.
- LIEUT. COL. WILLIAM STEPHENS SMITH, (?), bust, (partly ruined by repeated restoration), possibly same date as above; Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., No. 1945.79.
- Richard Dobbs Spaight, (1758-1802), ca. 1790, No. 9 in the *Resignation*.
- DAVID SPROAT, (1734-1799), (British), uncle of James and Robert Lenox of New York, three-quarter length, small, 1806 at New York, (a posthumous copy, with slight variations, after a portrait painted in 1788 by an unknown hand, British School, now in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library); Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Junior, Boston, Mass.
- Brig. Gen. John Stark, (1728-1822), New Hampshire Militia, ca. 1790 (?) in New Hampshire (?), No. 3 in *Saratoga*.
- Maj. Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard

- Augustin, Baron von Steuben, (1730-1794), (German), Continental Army, *ca.* 1790 at New York (?), No. 20 in *Yorktown*.
- LIEUT. COL. EBENEZER STEVENS, (1751-1823), miniature, 1790 at New York, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.27.
- Maj. Ebenezer Stevens, Independent Battalion of Artillery, Continental Army, from above, No. 27 in *Saratoga*.
- Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Stevens, 2nd Continental Artillery, from above, No. 16 in *Yorktown*.
- Col. Walter Stewart, (*ca.* 1756-1796), 2nd Pennsylvania Regt., No. 33 in *Yorktown*.
- REV. ABEL STILES, (1707-1783), bust, *ca.* 1777 at Woodstock, Conn. (?); Mrs. Vesta Quackenbush Van Trump (?), Lee, Mass. (in 1926).
- MRS. ABEL (ALETHEA ROBINSON) STILES, (1710-1786), same as above.
- STIMAFUTCHKE, or "Good Humor of the Coosades," Creek Indian chief, drawing, 1790 at New York, (1st Silliman Sale No. 67); lost.
- RICHARD STOCKTON, (1730-1781), pencil sketch, posthumous; Yale, No. 1931.67.
- Richard Stockton, from above, No. 11 in the *Declaration*.
- WILLIAM LEETE STONE, (1792-1844), bust, *ca.* 1821 at New York; A. Douglas Stone, Highland Park, Michigan.
- MRS. WILLIAM LEETE (SUSANNAH PRITCHARD WAYLAND) STONE, (1798-1852), bust, on wood, *ca.* 1821 at New York; same as above.
- PETER STUYVESANT, (1592-1672), copied from the "Stuyvesant Limner," 1808 at New York; City Hall, New York.
- MAJ. GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN, (1740-1795), pencil sketch, 1790; lost.
- , miniature, James Amory Sullivan, Beverly, Mass.
- Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, from above, No. 10 in *Trenton*.
- MRS. THOMAS (SARAH ANNIS) SULLY, (1779-1867), bust, 1806 at New York, signed and dated on back; Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., No. 1945.83.
- MAURICE SWABEY, (1752?-1826), (previously misidentified as "Dr. Smalley" and "Rev. D. Smalley"), (British), bust, *ca.* 1800 at London; New-York Historical Society, No. 734.
- LIEUT. COL. BENJAMIN TALLMADGE, (?), (1754-1835), pencil sketch, *ca.* 1790 in Connecticut; lost.
- AUGUSTA TEMPLE, (later Mrs. William L. Palmer), (1780-1852), (British), "small portrait," 1783 at Boston; lost.
- , "small head," 1784 at London; lost.
- , replica, "small," 1784 at London; lost.
- SIR GRENVILLE TEMPLE, (1768-1829), (British), bust, *ca.* 1784 (?) at London; Miss Clara B. Winthrop, West Manchester, Mass.
- , (1844 auction sale No. 15), same as above (?); lost.
- (Grenville Temple, see below).
- SIR JOHN TEMPLE, (1730-1798), (British), three-quarters length, 1784 at London; Canajoharie Library and Art Gallery, Canajoharie, N.Y.
- SIR JOHN TEMPLE AND FAMILY, (his wife, LADY ELIZABETH BOWDOIN TEMPLE, their son GRENVILLE, and infant daughter, AUGUSTA), study in pen and wash, not used, 1784 at London; Yale, No. 1947.477.
- , study in pencil, used for the following, 1784 at London; Yale, No. 1947.476.
- , full-length group, 1784 at London; George Temple Bowdoin, Oyster Bay, Long Island, N.Y.
- LADY (ELIZABETH BOWDOIN) TEMPLE, (1750-1809), bust, 1784 at London; Miss Clara B. Winthrop, West Manchester, Mass.
- , "small head," 1784 at London; lost.
- (Mrs. Nathaniel Terry, see Catherine Wadsworth).
- Charles Thomson, (1729-1824), *ca.* 1790 at or near Philadelphia, No. 42 in the *Declaration*.
- , No. 2 in the *Resignation*.
- Col. William Thompson, (1736-1781), 1st Continental Infantry, posthumous, No. 5 in *Quebec*.
- Capt. Tench Tilghman, (1744-1786), military secretary to Gen. Washington, posthumous, No. 8 in *Trenton*.
- Capt. Robert Tipping, (1760-1823), (British), 72nd Regt. of Foot, (Royal Manchester Volunteers), 1784-1787 at London, No. 10 in *Gibraltar*.
- DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, (1774-1825), full-length, 1808 at New York; City Hall, New York.
- NATHANIEL TRACY, (1751-1796), full-length, 1784 at London; lost.
- PATRICK TRACY, (1711-1789), full-length, 1784 at London; Patrick Tracy Jackson, Cambridge, Mass.
- , "head copied from whole length portrait," 1784 at London; lost.
- Lieut. Col. Thomas Trigge, (British), 12th Regt. of Foot, 1784-1787 at London, No. 5 in *Gibraltar*.
- Lieut. Col. Robert Troup, (1757-1832), A.D.C. to Gen. Gates, *ca.* 1790 at New York (?), No. 20 in *Saratoga*.
- (Abigail Trumbull, see Mrs. Peter Lanman).
- DAVID TRUMBULL, (1751-1822), "small whole-length, standing in a landscape," 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 24; lost.



- , bust, *ca.* 1792 (?) in Connecticut; Mrs. John T. Roberts, Hartford, Conn.
- FAITH TRUMBULL (later MRS. DANIEL WADSWORTH), (1769-1846), miniature, 1791 at Hartford, Conn., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.36.
- , pencil sketch, slightly later; Yale, No. 1939.282.
- (Harriet Trumbull, see Mrs. Benjamin Silliman).
- JOHN TRUMBULL, Poet and "Hartford Wit," (1750-1831), bust, 1793 at Hartford, signed and dated; Detroit Institute of Arts.
- , miniature, 1794 at Hartford, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.69.
- JOHN TRUMBULL, former Colonel, Artist, (1756-1843), small bust, oval, 1774 or 1775 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 26; Dr. George E. McClellan, Woodstock, Conn.
- , half-length, 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., signed and dated on back, *Autobiography* No. 29; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. No. 29.791.
- , on copper, 1779 at Boston, *Autobiography* No. 62; lost.
- , (?) (also "Portrait of an Artist," and "Portrait of a Gentleman"), half-length, 1801 at London, dated; Wadsworth Atheneum, No. 1848.6.
- , half-length, *ca.* 1812 at London; Marshall Hill Clyde, Geneva, Switzerland.
- , bust, on wood, 1833 at New York, (badly damaged by fire, repainted in part); Connecticut State Library, Hartford, deposited at Yale, No. 927.29.
- , "in a blue coat and white vest"; lost.
- , "belonging to D. Lanamar (David Lanman), of Brooklyn, L. I.," (in 1867); lost.
- , (?) miniature; Mrs. W. C. Lanman, Norwich, Conn.
- (—, see *Arrest of Col. Trumbull in London*).
- (JOHN TRUMBULL in Prison, half-length, head by Gilbert Stuart, remainder by Trumbull, 1781 at London; Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, Mass.).
- MRS. JOHN (SARAH HOPE HARVEY) TRUMBULL, (1771-1824, married 1800 at London), bust, *ca.* 1800 at London; Mrs. William Williams Mathewson, Washington, D.C.
- , "15 x 12, a fine painting"; (1844 auction sale No. 18); lost.
- , "small size"; (1844 auction sale No. 24); lost.
- , half-length, *ca.* 1800 at London; Mrs. Charles H. Higgins, New York.
- , half-length, (formerly attributed to Samuel Lovett Waldo), 1804-1808 (?) at New York (?); Yale, No. 1929.1.
- , with a spaniel, half-length, *ca.* 1812 at London; Marshall Hill Clyde, Geneva, Switzerland.
- , as "Sensibility," half-length, *ca.* 1816 (?) at New York; Miss Marion Cruger Coffin, New Haven, Conn.
- , in lace cap, bust, 1816-1824 at New York; Lieut. Col. Trumbull Warren, Hamilton, Ontario.
- , identical with above but with right hand at breast, on wood; Estate of Frederic Bull, New Canaan, Conn.
- , in lace cap with dove, half-length, 1816-1824 at New York; Yale, No. 1838.1.
- , on her death bed, 1824 at New York; Mrs. Clarence A. Carr, New London, Conn.
- JOHN M. TRUMBULL, (1784-1859), with spaniel, half-length, *ca.* 1800 at London; Col. Ralph H. Isham, New York.
- JONATHAN TRUMBULL, SENIOR, (1710-1785), 1774 at Lebanon, Conn., Mrs. Edward B. Huntington, Norwich, Conn., (in 1895).
- , bust, in oval frame with symbolic figures, 1774 or 1775 at Lebanon, Conn.; Trumbull College, Yale, No. 1832.102.
- , 1783 at Lebanon, Conn.; lost.
- , miniature, posthumous, after the 1783 portrait, in 1793, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.66.
- , bust, replica of the above, *ca.* 1820 at New York (?); Wadsworth Atheneum, No. 1848.7.
- , three-quarter length, posthumous, 1820 at New York from the Woodstock double portrait, inscribed and signed on back; Trumbull College, Yale, No. 1821.1.
- JONATHAN AND MRS. JONATHAN (FAITH ROBINSON) TRUMBULL, SENIOR, large double portrait, in ovals with symbolic figures, 1774 at Lebanon, Conn., inscribed, signed and dated on back, also signed in front; Connecticut Historical Society, No. 103.
- , large double portrait, same type as above, "heads in oval spaces, surrounded by ornamental work, from Houbraken's heads—Justice and Piety, etc." 1774 or 1775 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 22, (1st Silliman Sale No. 344); William B. Goodwin, Hartford, Conn.
- , double portrait, "size of life—my father dressed in a blue damask night gown—," 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 33; lost.
- , large double portrait, seated at table, 1778 at Lebanon, Conn.; Connecticut Historical Society, No. 72.
- , small double portrait, *ca.* 1780 at Lebanon, Conn.; Dr. George E. McClellan, Woodstock, Conn.
- , same as above, on wood; deposited by Miss



FIG. 1. John Trumbull, Governor Jonathan Trumbull, father of the artist. Painted in 1774 (Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery)



FIG. 2. John Trumbull, Mrs. Thomas Sully. Painted in 1806 (Courtesy of Amherst College)



FIG. 3. John Trumbull, Self-portrait. Painted in 1777 (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



FIG. 4. John Trumbull, John Trumbull, poet and "Hartford Wit," the artist's cousin. Painted in 1793 (Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts)



FIG. 5. John Trumbull, Patrick Tracy of Newburyport, Mass. Painted in 1784 (Courtesy of Patrick Tracy Jackson)



FIG. 6. "John Trumbull," Gen. Arthur St. Clair. A typical forgery (Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery)



FIG. 7. John Trumbull, Gen. Arthur St. Clair. A typical authentic drawing (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



- Elizabeth L. Anderson, New York, in Trumbull College, Yale, No. 20.38.
- , same as above, on wood; Mrs. John T. Roberts, Hartford, Conn.
- MRS. JONATHAN (FAITH ROBINSON) TRUMBULL, SENIOR, (1718-1780), miniature, 1793 at Lebanon, Conn., "copied from one done—from life in 1779," signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.37.
- , Mrs. Edward B. Huntington, Norwich, Conn., (in 1895).
- , wash drawing, posthumous, 1783 at Lebanon, Conn., (1st Silliman Sale No. 54); Mrs. Richard Ely Danielson, Groton, Mass.
- JONATHAN TRUMBULL, JUNIOR, (1740-1809), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.65.
- , (?), miniature, replica of above; Mrs. William Williams Mathewson, Washington, D.C.
- , half-length, ca. 1806 (?), in Connecticut; Mrs. John T. Roberts, Hartford, Conn.
- Lieut. Col. Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, Military Secretary to Gen. Washington, 1786 or 1787 at London, No. 22 in *Yorktown*.
- JONATHAN, MRS. JONATHAN (EUNICE BACKUS) TRUMBULL, and their eldest daughter, SARAH TRUMBULL, drawing, 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., (1st Silliman Sale No. 55); lost.
- , group portrait, 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 28; Yale, No. 1920.2.
- MRS. JONATHAN (EUNICE BACKUS) TRUMBULL, (1749-1826), miniature, 1793 in Connecticut; Miss Marion Cruger Coffin, New Haven, Conn., (on loan at the Yale University Art Gallery).
- JONATHAN GEORGE WASHINGTON TRUMBULL, (1787-1853), bust, on wood, 1828 at Norwich, Conn.; Miss Elizabeth M. Trumbull, Norwich, Conn.
- MRS. JONATHAN G. W. (JANE ELIZA LATHROP) TRUMBULL, (1795-1843), same as above.
- JOSEPH TRUMBULL, (1737-1778), full-length, posthumous, 1778 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography*, No. 52; Mrs. John T. Roberts, Hartford, Conn.
- , replica, 1778 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 56; Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Mass.
- , drawing, posthumous, 1783 at Lebanon, Conn., signed and dated, (1st Silliman Sale No. 53); Hall Park McCullough, New York.
- MRS. JOSEPH (AMELIA DYER) TRUMBULL, (married 1777), "portrait," 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 35; lost.
- (Mary Trumbull, see Mrs. William Williams).
- (Sarah Trumbull, see group portrait of the family of Jonathan Trumbull, Junior).
- THOMAS GIBBONS TRUMBULL, (1811-1848), bust, ca. 1839 at New York; Allan Train Trumbull, Englewood, N.J.
- , (?), on copper; William Trumbull, Litchfield, Conn. (in 1923).
- 2nd Lieut. Charles Turnbull, (d. 1795), Proctor's Battalion Pennsylvania Artillery, ca. 1790 (?), No. 2 in *Princeton*.
- TUSKATCHE-MICO, or "BIRD TAIL," Chief of the Cusitahs, pencil sketch, 1790 at New York, (1st Silliman Sale No. 65); Yale, No. 1947.497.
- ROYAL L. TYLER, (1757-1826), "head, with both hands," 1779 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 67; lost.
- JOHN TYRRELL, 1806 at New York; lost.
- Maj. Charles Vallotton, (British), 56th Regt. of Foot, 1784-1787 at London, No. 8 in *Gibraltar*.
- SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK, (1599-1641), (Flemish), "head, copied from a picture in possession of Governor Hancock," 1778 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 50; lost.
- (Marie Van Rans, see Mrs. George Codwise).
- STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, (1765-1829), half-length, 1806 at New York; Yale, No. 1832.14.
- RICHARD VARICK, (1753-1831), half-length, 1805 at New York; City Hall, N.Y.
- , same; Misses Maria and Amy Reid Knox, Chappaqua, N.Y.
- JOHN VERNET, (1764-1827), bust, 1806 at Norwich, Conn.; Mrs. W. V. Ingham, Kingston, Penn.
- JOHN AND MRS. (ANNE BROWN) VERNET, pencil drawing, "7 pieces," "including a Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Vernet," (2nd Silliman Sale No. 839); lost.
- JOHN, MRS. JOHN (ANNE BROWN) VERNET, and their two children, JOHN GILL and PETER CROISE VERNET, group portrait, 1806 at Norwich, Conn.; Yale, No. 1943.1.
- (Mrs. William Gordon Ver Planck, see Mary Elizabeth Hopkins).
- ELIZABETH VIGÉE-LE BRUN, (1755-1842), and her daughter, (French), pen sketch after self portrait painted in 1786 (now in the Louvre), 1786 at Paris; (1st Silliman Sale No. 133 or 135); Yale No. 1947.493.
- Maréchal-de-Camp Charles Joseph Hyacinthe du Houx, marquis de Vioménil, (1734-1827), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 6 in *Yorktown*.
- Lieut. Gen. Antoine Charles du Houx, baron du Vioménil, (1728-1792), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 11 in *Yorktown*.
- Capt., Baron von Helmstadt, Walloon Guards, (wounded at and died after the Sortie, 1781), posthumous, No. 18 in *Gibraltar*.
- (Baron von Steuben, see Steuben).
- (Letitia von Toeren, see Gurden Saltonstall Mumford).
- CATHERINE WADSWORTH (later Mrs. Nathaniel

- Terry), (1774-1841), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.38.
- , replica, miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; Miss Katherine F. Adams, Boston, Mass. (Mrs. Daniel Wadsworth, see Faith Trumbull).
- HARRIET WADSWORTH, (1769-1793), miniature, 1793 from memory, posthumous, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.35.
- , miniature, probably painted in 1793 for Daniel Wadsworth; Mrs. Helen Wadsworth Post Bergen, Utica, N.Y.
- JEREMIAH WADSWORTH, (?), (1743-1804), miniature, ca. 1790, Rev. Richard B. Post, Hoboken, N.J. (in 1892); lost.
- JEREMIAH WADSWORTH and his son, DANIEL WADSWORTH, (1771-1849), double portrait full-lengths, 1784 at London; Faneuil Adams, Cambridge, Mass.
- REV. JONATHAN MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT, (1792-1854), half-length, ca. 1820 at New York; The New Britain Institute, New Britain, Conn.
- MISS WALDO, "small portrait," 1783 at London; lost.
- , replica, 1784 at London; lost.
- Lieut. Col. Benjamin Walker, A.D.C. to Gen. Washington, (1753-1818), No. 23 in the *Resignation*.
- George Walton, (1741-1804), from a miniature by C. W. Peale, (now at Yale), No. 27 in the *Declaration*.
- Capt. Samuel Ward (1756-1832), Varnum's Rhode Island Regt., not from life, No. 9 in *Quebec*.
- Maj. Gen. Joseph Warren, (b. 1741-killed at Bunker's Hill 1775), Massachusetts Militia, posthumous, (probably after J. S. Copley's 1772-1774 portrait, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), No. 1 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, (1732-1799), Commander-in-Chief, (Washington notes in his *Diary*, that he sat for Trumbull five times in February, three in March and four in July 1790).
- ("Early type")
- , "half-length," copy after C. W. Peale, 1777 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 47; lost.
- , "half-length from memory," 1778 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 57; lost.
- ("De Neufville type")
- , full-length, with his body servant, Billy Lee, holding dark brown horse, flag flying at West Point of alternate white and red stripes and no blue canton, 1780 at London from memory; Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 24-109.88 (bust used on U.S. postage stamp, No. 712, 7¢ black, 1932), (Morgan and Fielding No. 1).
- (*Wright portrait*)
- , half-length, head painted in 1784 by Joseph Wright, rest completed by Trumbull in 1787 (?) at Paris; Massachusetts Historical Society.
- ("Martha Washington type")
- , full-length, small; leaning against the saddle of a white horse, ("... the Background represents the encampment of the American Army at Verplanck's point on the North River in 1782; —and the reception of the French Army on their return from Virginia, after the capture of York Town—Stony Point, & part of the Highlands, and a glimpse of the North river, at the place where the Troops of France crossed are seen in the distance"—Trumbull's note with the picture), 1790 at New York, signed and dated, done for Martha Washington (Washington, *Diary*, 8 July 1790); Edmund L. R. Smith, "Reunion," Lutherville, Md., (Morgan and Fielding No. 4).
- , same, life-size, 1790 at New York, signed and dated; City Hall, New York, (Morgan and Fielding No. 5).
- ("Yale type")
- , at Trenton, drawing; lost.
- , at Trenton, full-length, life-size, with soldier holding white horse, 1792 at Philadelphia, (painted for the City of Charleston, S.C.), Yale, No. 1806.1. (bust used on U.S. postage stamps: No. 39, 90¢, blue, 1860 and No. 72, 90¢, blue, 1861; No. 703, 2¢, carmine rose and black, 1931; No. 711, 6¢, red orange, 1932; No. 785, 1¢, green, 1936), (Morgan and Fielding No. 6).
- , replica, small, with brown horse; Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 22.45.9.
- , replica, with gray horse; Thomas Edward Hanley, Bradford, Penn.
- , (?), replica, 1806 at New York (Marquis of Bute version); Mrs. William L. Clements, Bay City, Michigan.
- , (?), replica, Mrs. James B. Haggin, New York (?).
- ("Charleston type")
- , full-length, life-size, right arm resting on cane, white horse in background, no attendant, 1792 at Philadelphia; City Hall, Charleston, S.C., (Morgan and Fielding No. 7).

## ("Civilian type")

GEORGE WASHINGTON, bust, 1793 at Philadelphia; Yale, No. 1832.10, (Morgan and Fielding No. 8).

—, same; Harvard, No. H54, (Morgan and Fielding No. 9).

—, same, later replica; Mrs. Arthur Iselin, Katonah, N.Y.

## (Miniatures)

—, miniature, ca. 1793; United States National Museum, Washington, D.C., (Morgan and Fielding No. 11).

—, (once belonging to Rufus King); lost. (In historical pictures), (Washington's *Diary*, 1 March 1790 at New York: "Exercised on horseback this forenoon attended by Mr. Trumbull who wanted to see me mounted").

Gen. George Washington, on horseback, (studies made for this and the three following, 1790 at New York), No. 9 in *Trenton*, (Morgan and Fielding No. 1).

—, on horseback, same, No. 5 in *Princeton*, (Morgan and Fielding No. 2).

—, on horseback, same, No. 17 in *Yorktown*, (Morgan and Fielding No. 3).

—, standing, full-length, same, No. 22 in *Resignation*.

## ("Apotheosis")

"APOTHEOSIS OF WASHINGTON," drawing, ca. 1784 at London; Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, New York.

MRS. GEORGE (MARTHA DANDRIDGE, Mrs. Daniel Parke Custis) WASHINGTON, (1732-1802), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.57.

—, miniature, ca. 1793; United States National Museum, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. George Washington, from above, No. 30 in the *Resignation*.

Capt. William Augustine Washington, (1757-1810), 3rd Virginia Regt., before 1808, No. 16 in *Trenton*.

JAMES WATSON, (1750-1806), bust, ca. 1790 at New York (?); Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, N.Y.

—, replica, 1827 at New York; lost.

ROBERT WATTS, JUNIOR, (1784-1850), bust, 1815 at New York; Mr. and Mrs. Hugh C. Wallace, New York.

BRIG. GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE, (1745-1796), pencil sketch; Fordham.

Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne, Continental Army, from the above, No. 25 in *Yorktown*.

BRIG. GEN. SAMUEL BLACHLEY WEBB, (1753-1807), (known as a "Portrait of a Revolutionary Officer," 1844-1870, and as "Gen. E. Huntington (?)," 1871 to 1941) bust, ca. 1790; New-York Historical Society, No. 810.

BRIG. GEN. GEORGE WEEDON, (ca. 1730-1793), pencil sketch, 1791 in Fredericksburg, Va.; Yale, No. 1931.65.

Col. George Weedon, 3rd Virginia Regt., from above, No. 15 in *Trenton*.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON, (1769-1852), bust, from a marble bust by Joseph Nollekens, 1813 at London; Yale, No. 1840.10 (color chart for portrait; Yale, No. 1947.503).

—, same, with slight differences—not a replica, from same bust, probably 1813 at London; George Hyde Clarke, Cooperstown, N.Y.

—, half-length, after Sir Thomas Lawrence, between 1809 and 1815 at London; Wadsworth Atheneum, No. 1848.23.

(Benjamin West's body servant, see James Dyer).

William Whipple, (1730-1785), posthumous, No. 2 in the *Declaration*.

Brig. Gen. William Whipple, New Hampshire Militia, same, No. 25 in *Saratoga*.

(Mary White, see Mrs. Robert Morris).

BRIG. GEN. ANTHONY WALTON WHITE, (1750-1803), pencil sketch, before 1794, (1st Silliman Sale No. 42); lost.

Col. Edward Wigglesworth, (1741 or 1742-1826), Massachusetts Militia, ca. 1790 in Massachusetts (?), No. 1 in *Trenton*.

JAMES WILKINSON, "small," 1777 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 40; lost.

Lieut. Col. James Wilkinson, (1757-1825), Deputy Adjutant-General, Northern Department, No. 13 in *Saratoga*.

MARINUS WILLET, (1740-1830), bust, 1808 at New York; City Hall, New York.

ELISHA WILLIAMS, (1694-1755), after John Smibert (?), (now lost), "head the size of life," 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 32; lost.

BRIG. GEN. OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS, (1749-1794), miniature, 1790 at Philadelphia; Richard Neville White, Buffalo, N.Y.

Brig. Gen. Otho Holland Williams, from above, No. 26 in the *Resignation*.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, (1731-1811), bust, 1778 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 53; Dr. George E. McClellan, Woodstock, Conn.

William Williams, probably 1792 at Lebanon, Conn., No. 40 in the *Declaration*.

MRS. WILLIAM (MARY TRUMBULL) WILLIAMS, (1745-1831), 1778 at Lebanon, Conn., *Auto-*



- biography* No. 54; Dr. George E. McClellan, Woodstock, Conn.
- DR. HUGH WILLIAMSON, (1735-1819), bust, *ca.* 1805 at New York; William Hamilton Swan, Flushing, Long Island, N.Y., on loan at the Museum of the City of New York.
- Dr. Hugh Williamson, *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 4 in the *Resignation*.
- Thomas Willing, (1731-1821), *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia, No. 18 in the *Declaration*.
- James Wilson, (1742-1798), *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia, No. 28 in the *Declaration*.
- FRANCIS TAYLOR WINTHROP, (?), (possibly FRANCIS BAYARD WINTHROP, 1754-1817); Mrs. Dean Pratt, Saybrook, Conn., (in 1917); lost.
- MRS. FRANCIS TAYLOR WINTHROP, (?), (possibly MRS. FRANCIS BAYARD WINTHROP, née ELSIE MARSTON, 1760-1789); same as above.
- Capt. Abraham Witham, (British), Royal Regt. of Artillery, 1784-1787 at London, No. 9 in *Gibraltar*.
- John Witherspoon, (1723-1794), before 1794, No. 38 in the *Declaration*.
- ELIZABETH STOUGHTON WOLCOTT, (1795-1814), (later Mrs. William Gracie), half-length, *ca.* 1808 at New York; New-York Historical Society, No. 841.
- OLIVER WOLCOTT, SENIOR, (1726-1797), miniature, before 1794; Mrs. J. West Roosevelt, New York.
- , from above, No. 41 in the *Declaration*.
- OLIVER WOLCOTT, JUNIOR, (1760-1833), half-length, 1806 at New York; Oliver Wolcott Roosevelt, New York.
- , miniature; Nicholas Roosevelt, Big Sur, California.
- MRS. OLIVER (ELIZABETH STOUGHTON) WOLCOTT, JUNIOR, (1767-1805), half-length, *ca.* 1804 at New York; Oliver Wolcott Roosevelt, New York.
- , replica of above; Mrs. Emily Tuckerman, New York.
- MAJ. GEN. JAMES WOLFE, (1727-1759), (British), "head—from an engraving—," 1770 or earlier at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 1; lost. (Eliza B. Wright, see Mrs. Robert Ball Hughes).
- GEORGE WYTHE, (1726-1806), pencil sketch, 1791 (1st Silliman Sale No. 51); lost.
- George Wythe, from the above, No. 1 in the *Declaration*.
- man Allyn Museum, New London, Conn., No. 1946.256.
- "Portrait of an American Military Officer," pencil sketch, *ca.* 1790; Yale, No. 1931.69.
- "Portrait of an Unknown Man," (questionably William Goddard, possibly WILLIAM GILES GODDARD), half-length, *ca.* 1805 (?) at New York (?); Mrs. C. Oliver Iselin, Providence, R.I.
- "Miniature of an Unknown Man," (?), (possibly PHILIP SCHUYLER); Estate of Dr. Arthur M. Greenway, Marlboro, Mass.
- "Portrait of a French Officer," pencil, 1786 or 1787 in France, (1st Silliman Sale No. 43); lost.
- "Invalid Soldier," pencil, 1786 in France, (1st Silliman Sale No. 122); Yale, No. 1947.492.
- "Soldier of the King's Horse Guards," sketch, 1789 (?) at London; lost.
- "Soldier," (explanations for a military uniform), pencil, (2nd Silliman Sale, No. 838); lost.
- ("Portrait of a Gentleman," see John Trumbull, Painter).
- ("Portrait of an Artist," see John Trumbull, Painter).
- ("Portrait of a Revolutionary Officer," see Brig. Gen. Samuel Blackley Webb).
- ("Portrait of the Uncle of J. Lenox," "cash from J. Lenox for his uncle's portrait 150," see David Sproat).

## UNIDENTIFIED WOMEN

- "Portrait of a Lady in a Turban," pencil sketch, 1st Silliman Sale No. 130); Gifford A. Cochran, North Salem, N.Y.
- "Portraits"—"3 female heads," before 1815 at London; lost.
- "Seated Woman," pencil; Yale, No. 1947.479.
- "Portrait of a Lady," 1800 at London, (American Academy Cat. 1831, No. 16); lost.
- "Portrait of a West India Lady," 1804 at New York; lost.
- "Portrait of a Lady," before 1826, (National Academy of Design, 1826, No. 53), possibly the above or one of the following; lost (?).
- "Portrait of a Lady," 1827 at New York, (American Academy Cat. 1831, No. 35), possibly one of the following; lost (?).
- "Portrait of a Lady," owned by James Lenox, in 1867, possibly the one above; lost (?).
- "Portrait of a Lady," Lenox Library, New York (in 1901), probably the above, though possibly that of Mrs. Robert Lenox in the New York Public Library; lost (?).
- ("Portrait of a Lady," see Mrs. Thomas Sully).
- ("Portrait of a Matron Lady," see Mrs. Alexander Hosack).

## UNIDENTIFIED MEN

- "Six small portraits of eminent men, Newton, Lock, etc.," 1772-1773 at Cambridge, Mass. *Autobiography* Nos. 10-15; lost.
- "Portrait of a Young Man," bust; after 1800 Ly-

## UNKNOWN

- "Charlestonians," ("I have painted or drawn about 20 heads since I have been here"—Charleston, S.C., 7 April 1790), of which only about four can be identified; lost.
- "3 portraits," before 1815 at London; lost (?).
- "Portrait"; Mrs. Edward B. Huntington, Norwich, Conn. (in 1901); lost.
- "Portrait"; same as above.
- ("Portrait"; Mrs. Augustus B. Field, New York; see SAMUEL OSGOOD, owned by William B. Osgood Field).
- ("Portrait"; same as above, see MRS. SAMUEL OSGOOD).
- ("Copy of Vandyk," before 1815 at London; see CORNELIUS VAN DER GEEST, at the New-York Historical Society).
- "Portrait," (?), "deposited in the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute" (in 1901); lost.

## ADDENDA AND ERRATA

*p. 216 (second column)*

BRUTUS (Tarquin's foe) in CONDEMNING HIS SONS and AT THE DEATH OF LUCRETIA is not to be confused with BRUTUS (Caesar's assassin) in the oil at the Wadsworth Atheneum and the sketch at Yale.

BELISARIUS, "40 by 50 inches," 1778 at Lebanon, Conn.; lost.

*p. 217 (first column)*

PETER THE GREAT AT THE CAPTURE OF NARVA, add: —, small oil, before 1815 at London; lost.

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL, late replica, small oil; Howland Shaw Warren, Boston, Mass. (delete "Estate of Joseph Warren," and substitute as above).

*p. 218 (first column)*

SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN, preliminary picture, oil, 15 by 21 3/4 inches, between 1794 and 1800 at London; William Appleton Aiken, Bethlehem, Penn., on loan at the Lyman Allyn Museum, New London, Conn.

*p. 218 (second column)*

THE SORTIE MADE BY THE GARRISON OF GIBRALTAR, delete last nine entries and substitute following: The Sortie from Gibraltar, oil "say 14 by 21 Inches," 1784-1787 at London, given to Benjamin West; lost.

—, replica, 20 x 30 inches, finished 1788 at London, "intended for the Engraver"; Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio, No. 1922-104.

—, replica, 72 x 108 inches, finished April 1789 at London; "Engraved by Mr. Sharp"; deposited by the Boston Athenaeum in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

—, replica, 35 1/2 x 54 inches, ca. 1840, probably after the William Sharp, 1799, engraving; Yale, No. 1935.198.

—, replica, 37 1/2 x 58 1/2 inches, ca. 1840, probably also after same engraving, (3rd Silliman Sale, No. 884); Lt. Cmdr. Francis Robinson, U.S.N.R. (Ret.) Newport, R.I.

—, (?), replica, 36 x 44 inches; lost.

—, (?), replica, 26 & 36 inches; lost.

Key to the picture, pen and ink drawing; Yale No. 1932.123.

*p. 219 (first column)*

THE EARL OF ANGUS CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD ON DE WILTON, add:

—, small oil, before 1815 at London; lost.

EDUCATION OF CUPID, delete entirely.

*p. 219 (second column)*

HOLY FAMILY and "COPY OF VANDYK," before 1815 at London, possibly copied after the *Holy Family* by Sir Anthony Van Dyck now in the Dulwich College Gallery, London, or that in the Bridgewater Collection, London; lost.

*p. 221 (first column)*

VIEW OF THE WEST MOUNTAIN NEAR HARTFORD, add: (2nd Silliman Sale, No. 840).

NORWICH FALLS

—, "two views," (probably the two pictures painted in 1806—taken to London and returned to New York in 1815); lost (?).

—, 1806 (?), (returned from London to New York in 1815); lost.

*p. 221 (second column)*

NIAGARA FALLS

—, "small," (probably painted in 1808, taken to London and returned in 1815); lost.

—, "two small cloths with outlines of Falls"; same as above; lost.

THE TEMPEST, delete "lost" and substitute: Mrs. Percy Chubb, Chester, Penn.

*p. 222 (first column)*

MALE FIGURES, change 1st Silliman Sale, Nos. 80 and 82 from "lost" to Mrs. Percy Chubb, Chester, Penn.

MAN AND WOMAN, change 1st Silliman Sale, No.

93 from "lost" to Joseph Wright Alsop, Avon, Conn.

FEMALE FIGURES, change 1st Silliman Sale, Nos. 79 and 85 from "lost" to Mrs. Percy Chubb, Chester, Penn.

*p. 264 (first column)*

BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE: owner, Mrs. Hollis S. Suits, Kirkwood, Missouri.

*p. 268 (first column)*

THOMAS JEFFERSON, miniature; Estate of Edmund Jefferson Burke, Boston, Mass. (delete "Edmund Jefferson Banks" and substitute as above).

*p. 269 (first column)*

ROBERT LENOX, half-length, Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Junior, Boston, Mass. (delete "private collection" and substitute as above).

MRS. ROBERT (RACHEL CARMER) LENOX, (same as above).

*p. 269 (first column)*

MISS——? LENTNER, (in her early twenties), also thought to be LOUISA MONROE, miniature, ca. 1836 at New York; Mrs. Rufus Lentner Sewall, Boston, Mass.

MISS——? LENTNER, (sister of the above, about two years older), also thought to be SUSAN MONROE, miniature, ca. 1836 at New York; same as above.

### TRUMBULL'S PRICES

It is interesting to note what the artist received for his work. Prices will, of course, have to be multiplied four or five times to equal today's purchasing power. The following are typical:

1774 "Portraits of my Father & Mother—half-length Cloth sold to Colo. Jedh. Huntington—for Seven Guineas," now owned by William B. Goodwin, Hartford, Conn.

1777 "Portrait of Majr. Genl. Jabez Huntington of the Militia, wholelength half the size of life—was paid for it (paper) fifteen Gns," now in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Conn.

1777 "Portraits of my brother Jonathan, his Wife & daughter, in one piece, 4 feet by 3 . . . 2 . . . paper £42 l.m." (i.e. lawful money), now in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

1784 "Small portraits of Colo. Wadsworth & Son—15 Guineas," now owned by Faneuil Adams, Cambridge, Mass.

1784 "Whole length of Mr. P. Tracy (father of Nat) leaning on an Anchor—head copied—recd

20 Guineas," now owned by Patrick Tracy Jackson, Cambridge, Mass.

1789 "The Sortie from Gibraltar, size 6 feet high by 9. long.—finished in April 1789—Exhibited at Spring Gardens May 1789—& Engraved by Mr. Sharp. For this picture I was offered & refused 1200 Guineas. . . . It is now in the hands of Saml. Williams Esqr. 13 Finsbury Square, with the hope of being Sold—1818." The picture was eventually sold to the Boston Athenaeum in 1828 for \$2000 and is now on loan at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

1803 "The Same Subject," (Sortie from Gibraltar), "portraits from life—intended for the Engraver, 20 by 30 Inches.—finished 1788. and Sold in 1803 to Sr. Francis Baring for Five hundred Guineas," now in the Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio.

1817 to 1824 Received from the United States Treasury for the four large pictures in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington a total of \$32000.

1828 Two small panoramas of the Niagara Falls sold to Daniel Wadsworth, \$200 each, now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.

1828 Portrait prices are best summed up in a letter from Trumbull to Joseph Elgar, Commissioner of Public Buildings, Washington, D.C., 10 December 1828 (HM 23051, reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California): "My price was then, and has always been, as follows

For the Head alone .....100. Dollars.  
Head with the hands .....150.  
Half length .....250.  
Whole length .....500.

These prices are 50 pr Ct. below those obtained by Stuart—and are not 1/4 of what is received by Sr. Thos. Lawrence—instead of Dollars He has Guineas."

### SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

(principally of the artist's work)

#### MANUSCRIPT

The most extensive collection is in the Yale University Library; much additional information is to be found in the papers of the artist's devoted nephew-in-law, Professor Benjamin Silliman. Other manuscript material is in the New York Public Library, the New-York Historical Society, the Connecticut State Library, the Wadsworth Atheneum and Connecticut Historical Society, both of Hartford, the Boston Athenaeum and the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Boston Public Library,



the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, and the Huntington Library at San Marino, California. Many letters are in private hands.

#### PRINTED-GENERAL

JAMES B. LONGACRE and JAMES HERRING, *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, New York and Philadelphia, 1834, a laudatory sketch, published under the sponsorship of the American Academy of the Fine Arts, of which Trumbull had been President. WILLIAM DUNLAP, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, New York, George P. Scott and Co., Printers, 1834, 2 vols. (republished with some footnotes omitted, but with added notes and corrections, in the well-known three-volume work edited by Frank W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed, Boston, C. E. Goodspeed & Co., 1918), is illuminating and spirited but biased and derogatory. TRUMBULL's defensive reply, his *Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters*, New York and London, Wiley and Putnam; New Haven, B. L. Hamlen, 1841, written when the author was eighty-two and published when he was eighty-five, is an uneven work. Dunlap's account and the veracious legend of the "Patriot-Painter" created by the *Autobiography* have remained the chief sources for all later work. Much information is to be found in the early pages of the *American Journal of Science*, founded in 1818 by Professor BENJAMIN SILLIMAN of Yale; a notice of the "Declaration of Independence," is in I, 1818, pp. 200-203, and A. B. Durand's engraving of it in VIII, 1824, pp. 168-172. The account of the "four great pictures" in the Rotunda of the Capitol is in XVI, 1829, pp. 163-168, and that of "The Trumbull Gallery of Paintings in Yale College of New Haven," XXXIX, 1840, pp. 213-249. The artist's death is noticed in XLVI, 1844, p. 216. CHARLES EDWARDS LESTER, *The Artist of America; a Series of Biographical Sketches*, New York, Baker & Scribner, 1846, is based upon information supplied by Professor Silliman. HENRY THEODORE TUCKERMAN, *Artist-Life, or Sketches of American Painters*, New York, 1847, and the expanded version, the *Book of the Artists, American Artist Life*, New York, G. P. Putnam & Son, 1867, are sensitive appraisals. HENRY WILLARD FRENCH, *Art & Artists of Connecticut*, Boston, Lee and Shepard; New York, Charles T. Dillingham, 1879, is slight. JOHN DURAND, "John Trumbull," *The American Art Review*, II, part 2, 1881, pp. 181-191 and 221-230, is excellent and well illustrated. ELLEN STRONG BARTLETT, "John Trumbull, the Patriot Painter" in the *New England Magazine*, XIX, (new series XIII), 1896, pp. 546 and 607-628, is a polite condensation of the *Autobiography*. JOHN FERGU-

SON WEIR, Dean of the Yale School of the Fine Arts, *John Trumbull*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901, for the Yale Bicentennial Celebration, adds little except a check-list. SAMUEL ISHAM, *The History of American Painting*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1905 and 1910, contains a readable popular account. CHARLES HENRY HART, "Gilbert Stuart's Portraits of Men, John Trumbull," *The Century Magazine*, LXXII, 1906, pp. 604-606. WILLIAM KELBY, *Notes on American Artists, 1754-1820, copied from Advertisements appearing in the Newspapers of the Day*, New York, New-York Historical Society, 1922, reprints a long notice concerning the Declaration of Independence and the projected engraving to be made of this painting. JOHN HILL MORGAN, *Early American Painters*, New York, New-York Historical Society, 1921, describes portraits by Trumbull. The three-volume *Diary of William Dunlap*, New York, New-York Historical Society, is full of pertinent gossip. MABEL MUNSON SWAN, *The Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873*, Boston, Boston Athenaeum, 1940, contains many references to Trumbull's work shown at early exhibitions. JEAN BROCKWAY, "John Trumbull," *Antiques*, XLIV, 1943, pp. 276-277, was written on the hundredth anniversary of the death of the artist. HAROLD EDWARD DICKSON (ed.), *Observations on American Art, Selections from the writings of John Neal, 1793-1876*, State College, Penn., Pennsylvania State College, 1943, contains uncompromising contemporary criticism.

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There are many, but four might be cited: James Elmes, *The Arts and Artists*, London, John Knight & Henry Lacey, 1825, III, pp. 199-200; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1899, VI, pp. 168-169; *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1936, XIX, pp. 11-15 (by THEODORE SIZER); and *Thieme-Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, E. A. Seemann, 1939, XXXIII, pp. 453-454.

#### PORTRAITS

##### City directories

These have been found useful for tracing down names of sitters, especially those in New York.

##### Military records

HENRY P. JOHNSON (ed.), *The Record of Connecticut Men in the Military and Naval Service during the War of the Revolution*, Hartford, The Adjutant-General of Connecticut, 1889, and especially, FRANCIS B. HEITMAN, *Historical Register of*

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#### General

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## YALE UNIVERSITY

NOTE: The author hopes to have his life of the artist—*John Trumbull, Patriot-Painter*—ready for publication in 1950.



# HARNETT, TRUE AND FALSE

ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN

## I

THE REVIVAL of interest in the paintings of William Michael Harnett, which began just ten years ago, represents, to a certain degree, a vindication of nineteenth century bourgeois taste. For the bourgeoisie loved Harnett in his own time, bought his pictures at respectable prices, and hung them up for all the world to see in their homes and in that prime center of Victorian enlightenment, the corner saloon. Today, after an interlude of dust in the back rooms of neighborhood junk shops, these paintings are on the walls again, in the residences of private collectors, and in public museums.

There is, however, a difference, a strong difference in approach, attitude, and appreciation between those who bought Harnett while he was alive and those who are buying him today. In his own era, the highest praise that criticism could bestow upon this artist was that "his brass is brass, his wood, wood." But when the hundredth anniversary of Harnett's birth was celebrated with an exhibition at the Downtown Gallery in New York in the spring of 1948, the critics talked about "rhythmic patterns of curves and diagonals," "surrealism," "selectivity of dissociated rather than related objects," and the artist's "sense of the underlying quality of abstraction."

This modern attitude is doubtless less naïve than the other, but it carries with it certain grave dangers which, unfortunately, have not been avoided. Abstraction implies disregard for the descriptive or literary values of subject matter in painting: surrealism implies the enigmatic. And a world to which subject matter doesn't count, or if it does count is relished for its inexplicability, is not likely to ask what the objects in a still-life are, or what they may mean. Consequently, pictures which bear on their surfaces clear and obvious evidence that Harnett could not possibly have painted them have been accepted without question as his, as such have found their way into important collections, and have frequently been reproduced.

A classic case in point is that of the painting called *To Edwin Booth* (Fig. 14). This represents an eighteenth century playbill across which lie a five-dollar Federal note and a letter addressed to Edwin Booth at the Players Club, New York, while protruding from behind the playbill is a page from the catalogue prepared for the sale of an art collection which had belonged to a man named Leaming. No one noticed that although this painting is signed and dated "W. M. Harnett, 1879," the five-dollar bill clearly reads "Series of 1880." No one bothered to inquire when the Players Club was founded (1888), or when the Leaming sale was held (April 4, 5, and 6, 1893; it was occasioned by the death of Dr. James Rosebrugh Leaming, which occurred on December 5, 1892, five weeks after the death of Harnett himself).

The answers to these questions, which prove conclusively that Harnett could never have seen this work, much less paint it, took as little time to secure as the questions themselves took to ask. But it never crossed anyone's mind to ask them. We are so heavily indoctrinated with the idea that the subject of a painting is of no importance that we overlook the simplest iconographic warning signals. This has happened repeatedly in the case of Harnett; as a result, proper criteria for his style have not been established, and the whole picture of his work has been confused and obscure. There is strong evidence to show that *To Edwin Booth* was actually painted by an artist named Nicholas A. Brooks, but the Brooks story, which is relatively complicated, is better told later in this report.

The present writer embarked on an intensive study of Harnett, for which he had been granted a Guggenheim fellowship, with very little thought of forgery in mind. To be sure, some works ascribed to this painter seemed poor in quality and difficult to accept as his; these, however, were few and unimportant. Questions of attribution and authenticity ultimately rose to significance not in connection with this scattering of poor canvases, but in connection with some of the best and most celebrated "Harnetts" in existence.

## II

Preliminary examination of a large number of pictures ascribed to Harnett developed three crucial questions the answers to which had to be found before one could say one knew anything about this artist at all. The first of these problems was that he had apparently practiced in two quite different styles interchangeably throughout his career. The second was that, while he had signed everything he did, he had failed to affix dates to certain works. The third was that he had dated two paintings after his death.

The first problem, that of the two styles, is difficult to present by means of photographic reproductions. For the sake of a simple terminology, I called one (Fig. 1) the "hard" style, and the other (Fig. 2) the "soft."

Examples of the "hard" style outnumber the "soft" by three or four to one. The "hard" style is extremely meticulous and detailed in handling. Surfaces are brittle and crystalline. These paintings rejoice in an almost microscopic observation and description of minutiae; in one case, indeed, microscopic examination of a line representing a whittled incision in a door revealed painted shavings or splinters that were not visible to the naked eye. If the top or fore-edge of a book figures in a work in this style, each individual page is likely to be indicated. Book titles and every last curl-cue of gold leaf or tooling are reproduced. Edges and contours of all objects are represented with razor-like sharpness, and the spatial placement of each object is indicated with the utmost clarity. These pictures also exploit a wide range of contrasted textures—the textures of wood, leather, paper, stoneware, porcelain, ivory, metal, cloth, and so on. As a result they have an extraordinary tactile appeal; people are always fingering them because they invite appreciation through touch as well as through sight. By the same token they often do not "carry" well. They are meant to be studied at close range, and even large canvases calculated to sing out at a distance also draw the observer close after their long-range impact has registered.

The "soft" style is quite different. There is little microscopic observation. Pages of books are not individually described. Book titles are ignored. Edges and contours are much less sharp, and the placement of objects in space much less well defined; whereas, in the "hard" style the intervening air between a beer stein and the wall behind it is clearly perceptible, in the "soft" style the stein often seems to merge with or press into the wall. There is no variety of textures in this second manner. Everything is done in one texture; these pictures have a powdery or ground-glass-like "skin" which has caused more than one observer to invoke the name of Vermeer; but sometimes backgrounds are roughly stippled. Color in the "soft" style is likely to be more brilliant than in the "hard," and contrasts of light and shade are very much more marked and dramatic. Because of this, and because of the lack of individualized textures, paintings in this manner have relatively little tactile interest and "carry" extremely well regardless of their size.

The problem of the undated pictures can be more briefly set forth. Certain paintings bear Harnett's presumed signature, but no indication of the year in which they were done. The objects represented in these pictures do not correspond to those which figure in the dated canvases; consequently there was no iconographic criterion, at least, for placing them at any particular point or points in the procession of Harnett's work as a whole. Some of them had been tentatively assigned

to the late seventies because they were on pieces of academy board bearing on their backs the label of F. Weber and Company, the Philadelphia firm of dealers in artists' materials, and it was known that Harnett had painted in Philadelphia from the middle seventies to 1880, when he went to Europe. But F. Weber and Company did not assume that name until 1887, at which time Harnett was living in New York.

### III

The problem of the posthumously dated pictures is exceedingly complex.

Two paintings were dated after Harnett's death: *Old Reminiscences*, in the Phillips Memorial Gallery in Washington, D.C. (Fig. 6), and *Old Scraps*, in the Museum of Modern Art, New York (Fig. 7). These pictures resemble each other very markedly, both in subject matter and in style, which is far closer to the "soft" manner than to the "hard." Both are "rack" pictures. Following an extremely old but not very common formula of still-life, the artist had painted a letter rack made of strips of felt or tape tacked to a door, with envelopes, books, photographs, etc., tucked behind the strips. The posthumous dating had been noticed only in the case of *Old Reminiscences*, which bears, painted as if whittled into the door in large numerals, the legend "1900," eight years after Harnett's death. Since this could not be accounted for on any rational basis, it had been interpreted on the basis of the irrational; it was accepted as a little surrealistic *jeu d'esprit* on Harnett's part.

In studying *Old Scraps* at the Museum of Modern Art, I observed several quite astonishing things. At the top right corner of the rack are an envelope and a Government penny postcard bearing postmarks as follows: "Lerado, Ohio, Nov. 8, 1894," "Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 7" (no year), and "Milford, Ohio, Nov. '94," (no day-date). Down at the lower left of the rack is another letter, also with a postmark, but someone had removed the town name from this with a knife, scraping off the first layer of the paint at that point but leaving undisturbed the date—"Dec. 7, '94"—and the first initial, "N," of a state abbreviation. (These postmarks appear in Figs. 3, 4 and 5.)

There is a fourth letter in the picture, at the lower right corner of the rack, with a postmark from Newark, New Jersey, October 20, no year. The inscription on this envelope is very strange. It is partly covered by the tape, but one can read "Mr. . . . Harnett . . . 15th Str/Phila. Pa." Now, city directories and other documents provide an apparently complete record of Harnett's addresses for every year of his life in the United States, and there is no evidence to show that he ever lived on Fifteenth Street in Philadelphia, ever had a studio there, or was connected with that thoroughfare in any way.

The penny postcard at the top of the rack bears the following address: ". . . lings/And Wharton St./ Philadelphia/Penn." The envelope with the scraped postmark also bears an address, but it is pushed so far under the tape that one can read only a capital "M," below it the sign # often used as a symbol for the word "number," and, in one corner, the words "In haste."

George Hulings of Fourth and Wharton Streets, Philadelphia, was a friend of Harnett's who is known to have possessed one of his "rack" pictures. It seemed logical to assume that this was the Hulings "rack," but there was no way of explaining why it was dated in three places two years after Harnett's death. And when the addresses on this painting were studied from the point of view of handwriting, still more mysteries presented themselves.

For each of the addresses is in a different hand. Furthermore, each is in a different medium. The ". . . lings/ Wharton St." inscription is in a small, fine script. It has been placed on the paint film in ink, with a pen; below the paint film in that area there seems to be another inscription, but it has not been possible to bring it out. The "Harnett/15th Str." address is in a bold hand, and is in a mixture of ink and paint; the paint is underneath the ink at certain spots while at others no paint is perceptible. The third inscription, "M/#" and "In haste," is in a relatively large, flowing, and



elegant style and is entirely in paint; it shows no evidence of tampering or over-writing of any sort.

Comparison of the inscriptions on *Old Reminiscences*, the Phillips Memorial Gallery picture dated 1900, with those on the Museum of Modern Art's *Old Scraps* proved most interesting. Like *Old Scraps*, *Old Reminiscences* has three inscribed envelopes. One of these reads "Mr. W...Harnett/...Locust St./ Philadelphia." (Harnett had a studio in the famous old Wistar house at 400 Locust Street from 1877 to 1879.) This address is in the same handwriting as the "...lings/Wharton St." of the Museum of Modern Art picture; it, too, has been applied in ink with a pen, and over something else, now illegible. Another envelope of the Phillips Gallery picture is almost completely covered, so far as its address is concerned, and one can read only a single capital "M." The third envelope bears the word "Proprietor." Both these inscriptions are in the same handwriting as the "M/#" and "In haste" of *Old Scraps*, and, like them, are in paint, untampered with.

A tabulation of this information will help to make it clear.

#### OLD SCRAPS

*Handwriting 1*: "...lings, Wharton St." In ink, over something else

*Handwriting 2*: "Harnett/15th Str." In ink and paint, the ink over the paint

*Handwriting 3*: "M/#" and "In haste." In paint alone. No evidence of tampering or over-writing

#### OLD REMINISCENCES

*Handwriting 1*: "Harnett/Locust St." In ink, over something else

*Handwriting 2*: Not present

*Handwriting 3*: "M" and "Proprietor." In paint alone. No evidence of tampering or over-writing

The physical evidence suggests that only Handwriting 3 was present on these pictures at the time they were painted, and that Nos. 1 and 2 are later additions. None of these three hands is that of William Michael Harnett; this opinion is confirmed by two of the country's leading handwriting experts, Clark Sellers and Albert Osborn, whom I consulted on all phases of this study coming within their field.

Handwriting 3, the painted, untampered one, occurs over and over again in other pictures, and ultimately we shall identify its author. Handwritings 1 and 2 occur nowhere else and cannot be identified with any known person, nor does the ink medium with which they are associated ever show up again.

Handwriting 3 conveys no information relating to Harnett, but the inscriptions in Handwritings 1 and 2 both refer to that artist. Both, in other words, were added to the paintings in order to emphasize his name in connection with them. (Both pictures bear presumed Harnett signatures as well as these addresses.) The author of Handwriting 1 was in possession of correct information about Harnett, some of it (his relations with Hulings) not common property. But the author of Handwriting 2 seems to have had no real information about Harnett at all and either gave him an imaginary address in the right town or—as seems more likely—inked over the entire preexisting inscription in paint, changing the name to that of Harnett but leaving the address as it was.

A final observation about *Old Scraps* and *Old Reminiscences* is this: both are on canvas-stretchers of light blond wood, with a ridge or beading all around the outer edge, and stamped "The Pflieger Patent, Patented Feb. 2, 1886." This stretcher occurs with other paintings in the "soft" style, but never with any in the "hard." Original stretchers on paintings in the "hard" style are invariably of brown wood, beveled rather than beaded on the outer edge, and bear no maker's mark.

#### IV

With the three big problems in mind—two Harnett styles, many dated Harnetts and some undated ones, and two Harnetts dated after the painter's death—I left New York one day in July

1947 and drove toward Philadelphia by way of a little town on the New Jersey shore called Island Heights. I went because Professor Wolfgang Born, author of a book on American still-life, had told me that John Frederick Peto had lived there, and John Frederick Peto seemed to be a person of some slight importance in the Harnett story.

Little was known about Peto, but a few of his still-lives and "rack" pictures had been on the New York market and two of them had found their way into museums, one to the Minneapolis Art Institute and one to the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut. Both of these are door pictures involving a somewhat dilapidated oval portrait of Lincoln very much like the one in *Old Reminiscences*. My interest in Peto had been further aroused by two curious references to him in the Blemly scrapbook, the most important Harnett document so far discovered.

William Ignatius Blemly was a friend of Harnett's who worked with him in the silver-engraving establishment of Wood and Hughes in New York in the early 1870's, before Harnett became a painter. The two men remained in contact throughout Harnett's life, and Blemly kept a collection of material relating to his friend. This contains, among other things, the catalogues of two Harnett exhibitions held in Philadelphia shortly after the artist's death. The more important of these catalogues, relating to an auction held by Thomas Birch and Sons on February 23 and 24, 1893, lists 419 objects or lots of objects, the great majority of them lamps, vases, guns, musical instruments, books, and miscellaneous bric-a-brac which Harnett had picked up in Europe between 1880 and 1885 and which he used for models throughout the rest of his life. The Birch catalogue also provides photographs of many of these models, and lists numerous paintings in which they appear.

The Blemly scrapbook also contains some newspaper clippings relating to Harnett, many of them without indication of date or source, some of his patterns for engravings on silver, and other memorabilia of various kinds. It is now the property of Mrs. Edith Halpert, to whom the art world owes a vast debt for her rediscovery of Harnett and the reawakening of interest in nineteenth century American still-life in general.

Blemly's collection contains two references to Peto, one of them very curious and amusing. It is a monogram drawn in ink. A huge capital "J" bisects an even larger capital "O." In the free space to the right and left of the shaft of the "J," but within the circle of the "O," appear a pea-pod and a human toe. Next to this is an inscription in Blemly's handwriting: "Monogram/of/Joseph Peto/1872/by/ W. M. Harnett/ W.I.B." Now, there are faint indications that an artist named Joseph Peto once existed, but they are very faint indeed and this story is complicated enough without him; it is easier to believe that the monogram was made for John Frederick Peto and that Blemly was not sure of his name.

The other reference to John Frederick Peto in the Blemly scrapbook relates inescapably to the man who lived at Island Heights. It is a clipping, traceable to the *Philadelphia Times* for May 23, 1893, to the effect that a painting by Peto bearing a forged Harnett signature had been disposed of at Freeman's auction rooms in that city a few days earlier in the sale of the effects of a mysterious "late William Culp." This picture was called *Hang Up the Fiddle and the Bow*. The *Times* did not state from whom its information was obtained or what the evidence of forgery was, and the whole story is written in a strange, guarded tone. For some undiscoverable reason, the *Times* was ill-disposed toward the Culp sale; on May 18, the day after it took place, the same newspaper had carried a rather long satiric story about it, but the reason for its scorn is nowhere apparent.

It seemed probable, from the evidence of the monogram, that Harnett and Peto had known each other. Hence the Island Heights visit might have been expected to yield some Harnett letters

and perhaps other material relating to him. Actually, it solved the mysteries of the two Harnett styles and of the undated and post-dated pictures.

## V

Peto's studio is kept up today very much as it was when he died in 1907. Along one wall is a ledge, and on that ledge, to my intense astonishment, I beheld what seemed to be dozens of Harnett's models. There were the very powder horns, candlesticks, pitchers, and pistols I had been seeing in paintings by Harnett. My first thought was that Peto had bought these things at the Birch sale as mementos of his friend, and I maintained this theory until overwhelming evidence to the contrary was forthcoming.

The first bit of that evidence was provided by Peto's daughter, Mrs. George Smiley, who still lives in the house at Island Heights. I showed her photographs of paintings accepted as Harnett's; when she saw *Old Scraps* and its posthumously dated postmarks, she observed, very quietly, "Lerado, Ohio, is where my mother was born." She recalled that her father had lived in Lerado at one time, and later we were able to establish that this was in 1894, the year of the postmarks in question. Careful study of all available Harnett photographs and of the Birch catalogue confirmed the suspicion aroused by Mrs. Smiley's remark.

I placed in one pile all the photographs of the paintings in which were represented the objects in Peto's house, and in another pile the photographs of those pictures which, from such external evidence as contemporary newspaper descriptions, old reproductions in the Blemly scrapbook, and identifiable listings in old catalogues, can be proven to be works of Harnett. Without exception, all the paintings representing objects in Peto's house were in the "soft" style, and, with two exceptions, all were undated. The provable Harnetts, on the other hand, were all in the "hard" style, and bore dates.

Furthermore the signatures on the "hard" style pictures were all consistent with each other so far as handwriting was concerned, and all were modest in scale. The signatures on the paintings in the "soft" style were, by contrast, completely inconsistent with those in the "hard" group and were even inconsistent with each other. At least four different types of lettering were used, and the scale was, in most cases, far from modest; relatively speaking, the signatures were immense, and had obviously been calculated to strike the observer most forcefully with Harnett's name.

In other words, if this evidence was not to be controverted by later discoveries and more searching examination, the "hard" style and the "hard" style alone was Harnett. The "soft" style was Peto masquerading under forged Harnett signatures.

A careful check of the Birch catalogue showed no evidence for believing that Harnett had ever owned the models in Peto's house. It is, of course, conceivable that Peto obtained them from Harnett before the latter's death, in which case they would not have been sold at the Birch auction, or that Peto and Harnett owned similar objects independently. But the evidence of the Peto paintings—more than one hundred and fifty of them—which I subsequently found in the house at Island Heights and in the hands of the Keyser family of Philadelphia (whose members are descended from James Bryant, one of Peto's neighbors and close friends) removes these possibilities from serious consideration. For in the Island Heights and Keyser pictures one may see, over and over again, the very same models used in the "soft" style paintings attributed to Harnett, and these paintings, too, are in the "soft" manner. On the other hand, the models in question do not appear in a single provable Harnett nor in a single painting stylistically consistent with the provable Harnetts. They appear only in known, uncontrovertible Petos and in paintings which, from evidence so far given and much more evidence shortly to be adduced, give every indication of being Petos with forged Harnett signatures.



Examination of the Smiley and Keyser Petos, as well as the Minneapolis, Hartford, and other pictures, brought forth still other material of importance. Many of these pictures bear inscriptions, invariably in Handwriting 3, the one hand which is not a subsequent addition in the cases of *Old Scraps* and *Old Reminiscences*; obviously, Peto must be credited with all these inscriptions. The Pfleger stretcher and the Weber academy board likewise appear repeatedly with the Smiley and Keyser Petos, but never with a provable Harnett or with a picture stylistically akin to the provable Harnetts.

Many of the Smiley and Keyser paintings are unfinished, unsigned, and in poor condition. But a few *are* signed and dated, and, thanks to them and to such external evidence as the Pfleger stretcher and labels bearing various different names which the Weber firm has borne at ascertainable periods, one may work out a rough chronology for Peto's career.

He began to paint, in the late 1870's, in a relatively loose and stringy manner, and did not fully develop the characteristics of the "soft" style until late in his life. It is possible to put an early Peto next to a late one and insist that they could not have been painted by the same man, but when the whole spread of his work is studied, this argument, which has been used to bolster the Harnett ascription of some of the questioned pictures, falls to the ground. As a matter of fact, even some early Petos, notably the Jennings "rack" (No. 8 in the list of wrongly ascribed works below) have also been given to Harnett.

## VI

The following objects, found at Island Heights, were used as models in the paintings at issue and cannot be shown ever to have been used by Harnett:

1. An iron "lard oil" lamp, 7 inches high and 6 inches wide at the base. Used in *Old Friends* and *The Marked Passage*, ascribed to Harnett, in the collection of Alfred H. Barr, Jr., New York, in numerous small Petos at Island Heights, and in a mural painting there. It also appears in the background, as do some of the other models involved in this list, in old photographs of Peto himself.
2. Combination candle snuffer and wick trimmer, iron, 6 3/4 inches long. Used in the presumed Harnett, *The Writer's Table*, collection Edith Halpert, New York.
3. Old French revolver, 13 inches long. Used in *Protection*, ascribed to Harnett; collection Mrs. H. Gates Lloyd, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
4. Rusted iron gate latch with traces of green paint, 6 5/8 inches long. Also used in *Protection* and in numerous Petos at Island Heights and elsewhere.
5. Iron candlestick with a lever for the ejection of the candle and a sharply bent hook on its lip, 6 1/2 inches high, 3 5/8 inches wide at its base. Used in *After Night's Study*, signed Harnett, in the collection of Robert A. Tannahill, Detroit.
6. Mottled orange-covered book with protruding leaves at pages 159-164; 7 1/4 inches long, 4 1/2 inches wide, 1 1/4 inches thick. "*The Eye*, by Obadiah Optic, Vol. 1, Philadelphia. Printed and published by John W. Scott, No. 147 Chesnut (sic) St., 1808." Used in *After Night's Study* and in two other presumed Harnetts: *Research* (Downtown Gallery) and *Box of Books* (Alfred H. Barr, Jr.). Also in the fantastically problematical Peto, *Take Your Choice*, (New York, John Barnes) to be discussed later, and in Petos at Island Heights and elsewhere.
7. Portrait of Abraham Lincoln, oval steel engraving, heightened with pencil, 9 3/4 inches high. This is an engraving after a Brady photograph originally published in oblong format with a border, by J. C. Buttre of New York, apparently in 1865. Peto removed the border and in this shape the picture was nicked or torn at the upper left. It appears, with the same tear, in the above-mentioned *Old Reminiscences* and in two signed Petos both bearing the title *Reminiscences of 1865*, one at the Minneapolis Art Institute and the other at the Wadsworth Atheneum.



FIG. 1. W. M. Harnett, *Still-Life with Letter to Thomas B. Clarke*. Oil on canvas, 11 x 15. Andover, Mass., Addison Gallery of American Art. A typical "hard style" Harnett

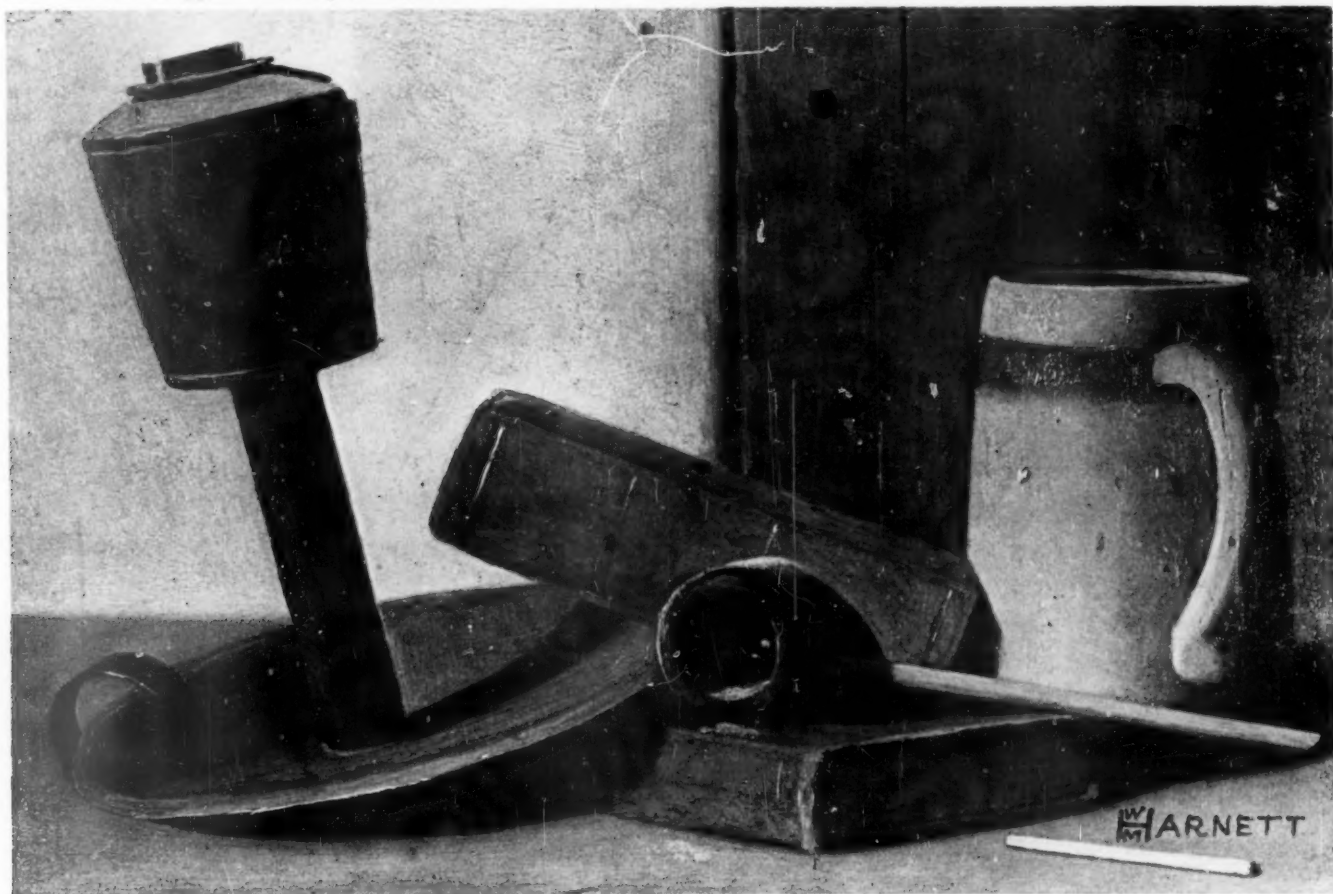


FIG. 2. Ascribed to W. M. Harnett, *Old Friends*. Oil on Weber academy board, 6 x 9¼. New York, Alfred H. Barr, Jr. A typical "soft style" painting with questionable signature



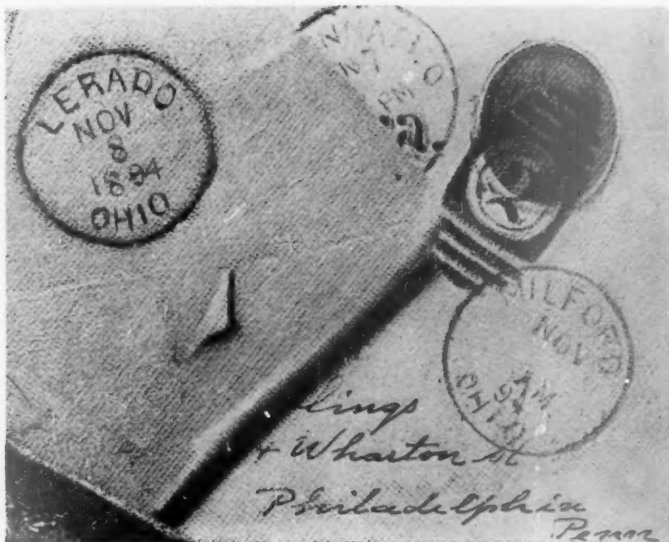


FIG. 3. Detail of *Old Scraps*, showing Lerado, Cincinnati, and Milford postmarks of 1894, shaded lettering ("ca") on postcard, Jefferson-head stamp, and Handwriting 1

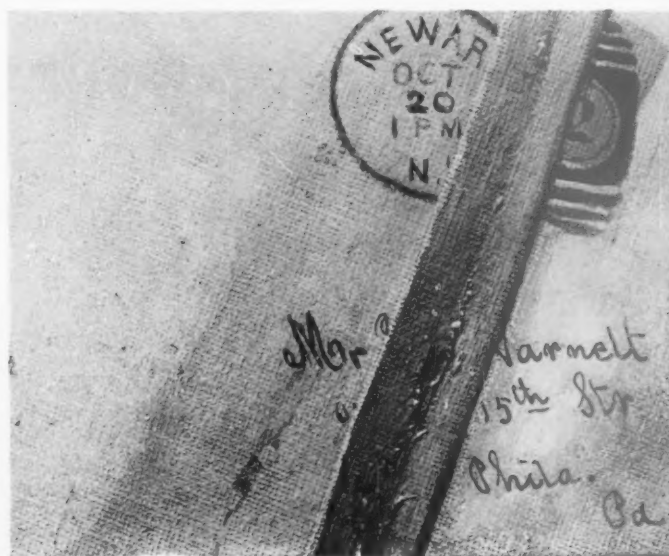


FIG. 4. Detail of *Old Scraps*, showing Handwriting 2

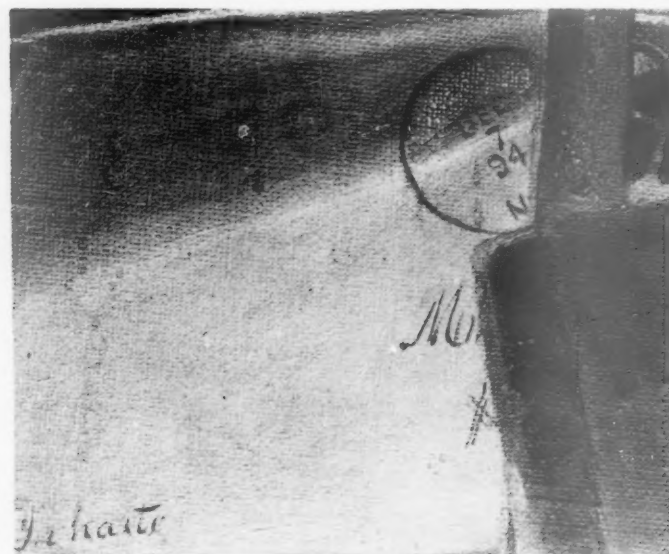


FIG. 5. Detail of *Old Scraps*, showing Handwriting 3 and town-name effaced from postmark



FIG. 6. John F. Peto, *Old Reminiscences*. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25. Washington, D.C., Phillips Memorial Gallery

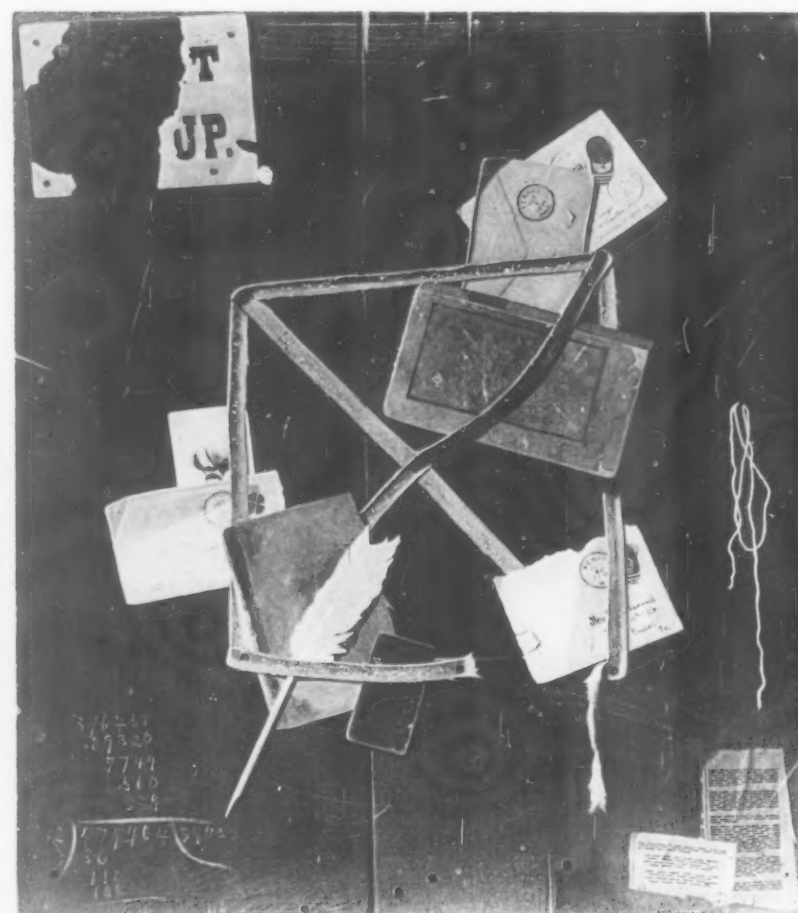


FIG. 7. John F. Peto, *Old Scraps*. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 1/8. New York, Museum of Modern Art. Photographed before the repaint in the darkened area to the left of the "Harnett" signature was removed, revealing the signature of Peto





FIG. 8. John F. Peto, *Rack picture*. Oil on canvas, ca. 30 x 25. Philadelphia, Howard Keyser



FIG. 9. Objects in the studio of John F. Peto. Island Heights, N.J., Mrs. George Smiley

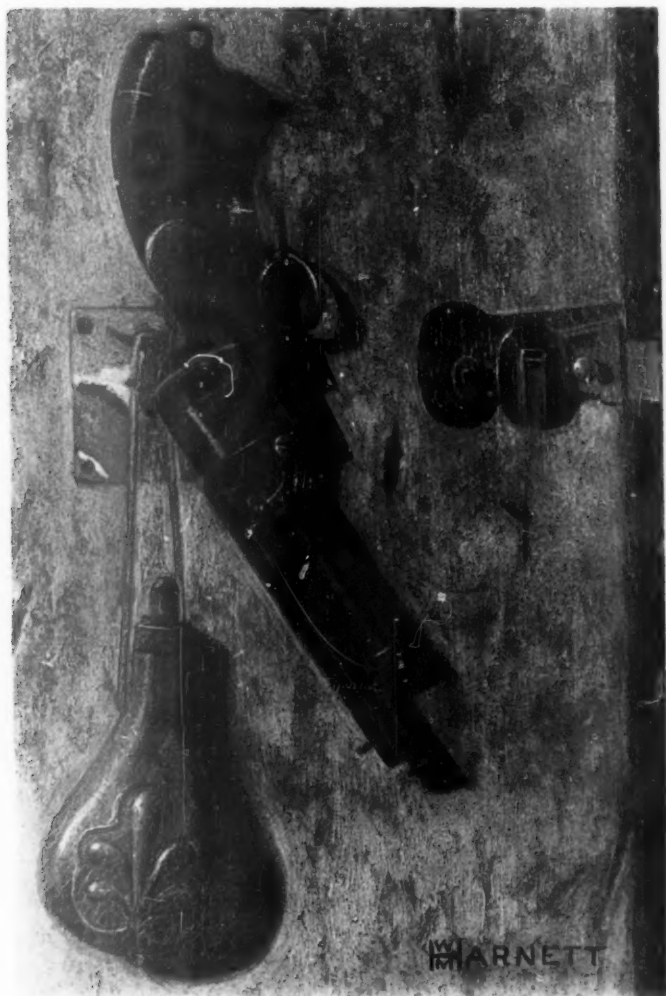


FIG. 10. Ascribed to W. M. Harnett, *Protection*. Oil on academy board, 9 1/8 x 6. Haverford, Pa., Mrs. H. Gates Lloyd

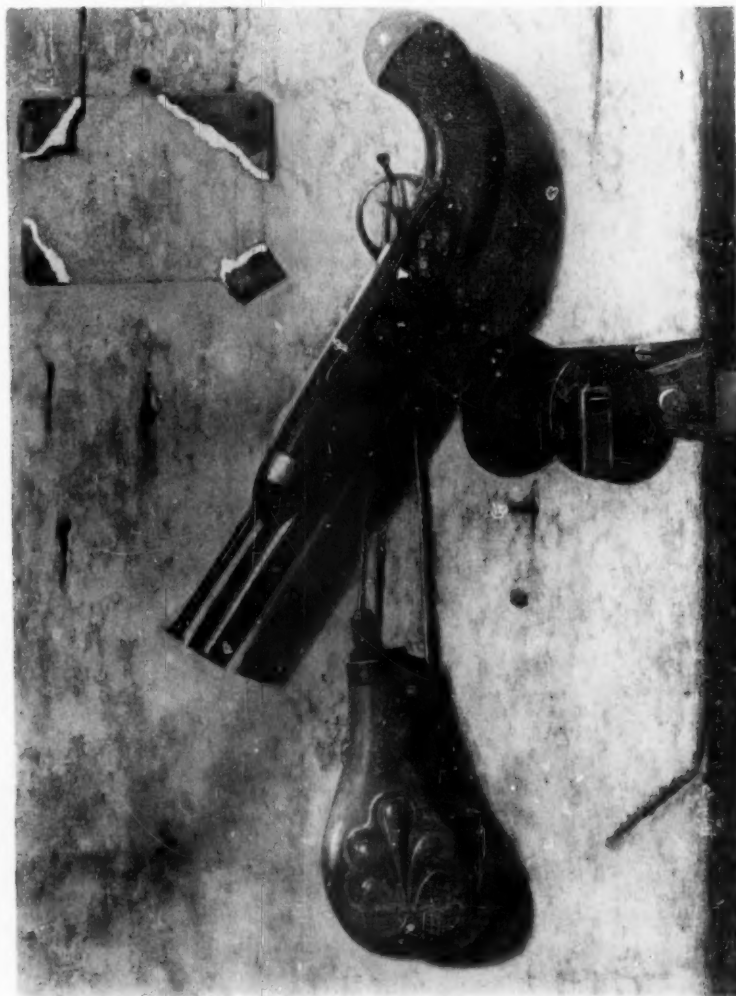


FIG. 11. John F. Peto, *Untitled*. Oil on canvas, 14 x 12. Philadelphia, Howard Keyser



FIG. 12. Ascribed to W. M. Harnett, *Dollar Bill and Playbill*. Oil on mahogany panel, 14 x 12. Hyde Park, N.Y., Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Photographed after removal of overpaint, showing newspaper clipping and possible signature of N. A. Brooks (Reproduced by special permission of the Secretary of the Treasury. Further reproduction in whole or in part is strictly prohibited)

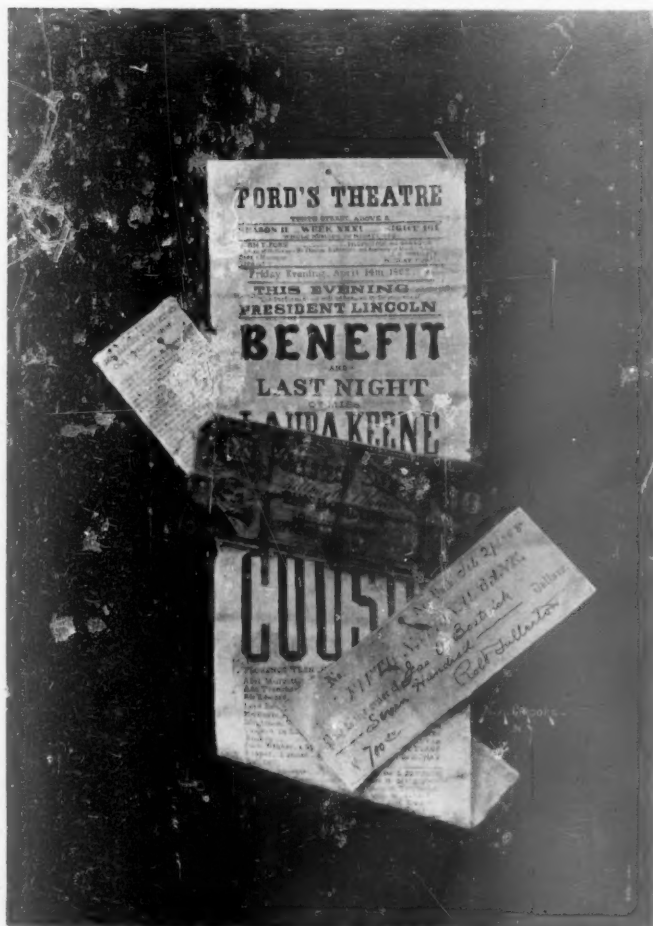


FIG. 13. N. A. Brooks, *Still-Life*. Oil on mahogany panel, 20½ x 14. Oberlin, Ohio, Dudley Peter Allen Art Gallery, Oberlin College (Reproduced by special permission of the Secretary of the Treasury. Further reproduction in whole or in part is strictly prohibited)

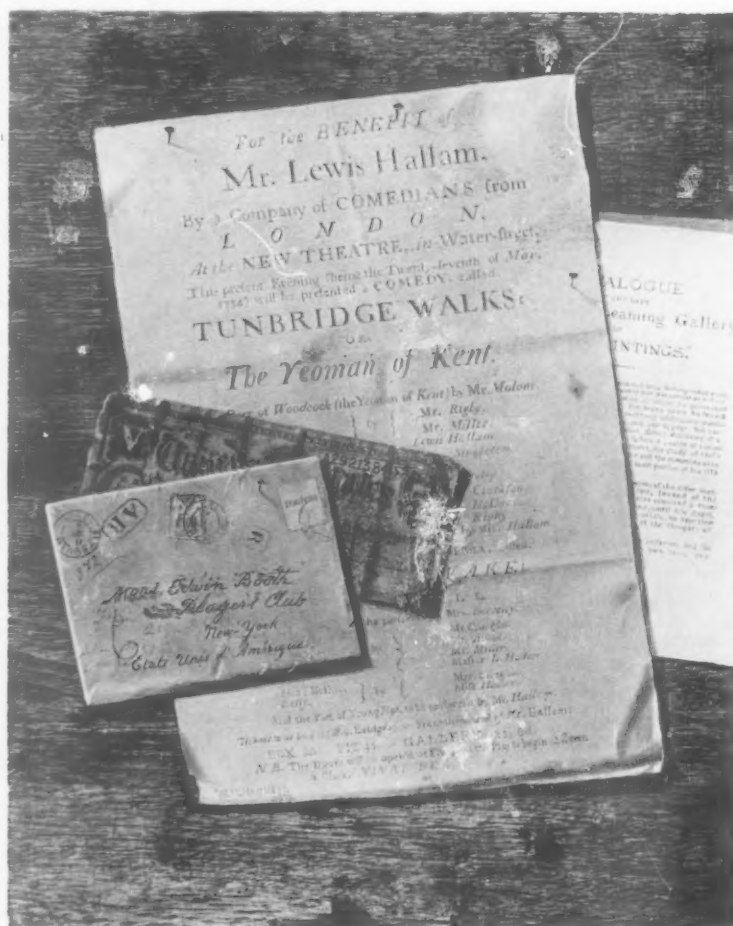


FIG. 14. Ascribed to W. M. Harnett, *To Edwin Booth*. Oil on mahogany panel, 19 x 25. New York, A. Conger Goodyear (Reproduced by special permission of the Secretary of the Treasury. Further reproduction in whole or in part is strictly prohibited)

Figures 9, 10, 11 illustrate this matter of the existing Peto models and their use. Fig. 10 is a typical "soft" style picture with a typical forged Harnett signature. The revolver employed in it is No. 3 in the above list, and the gate latch is No. 4. Figure 11 is an unsigned Peto from the Keyser collection. Its resemblance to Fig. 10 in style and composition is obvious enough, and it, likewise, uses the gate latch. Figure 9 is a photograph of the pistol, the gate latch, and a powder horn as they exist in Island Heights today. (The three powder horns are not the same. That of Fig. 10 is brass and those of Figs. 11 and 9 are pewter. There is no brass powder horn at Island Heights at the present time.)

There are also other objects which appear in the falsely signed Harnetts and in unquestioned Petos, but they cannot be found at Island Heights today. These include certain books; a green pamphlet with the title *Report*; a small photograph of Lincoln quite different from the steel engraving mentioned above; a photograph of a little girl (probably Peto's daughter at the age of seven or eight); several greeting cards of various types; a small envelope, bright tan in color, bearing the legend "Important Information Inside"; and a mysterious-looking printed ticket (it appears on *Old Reminiscences*, Fig. 6) which, according to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* for February 24, 1893, is of a type issued by bookmakers at the race track in Gloucester, New Jersey, at that time.

One must also observe that there is one model, still preserved at Island Heights, which appears on paintings in both "hard" and "soft" styles. It is a conical stoneware ink bottle bearing the label of the London firm of F. and J. Arnold. This bottle also appears in the works of numerous other American still-life painters of the late nineteenth century. Its use by both Harnett and Peto in no way disturbs what is said about the models above; nor does the fact that the Birch catalogue has two omnibus entries—No. 246, "Lot Old Models" and No. 252, "Lot Models," both of which listings can mean anything—controvert the significance here given to the objects found in Peto's house. Until paintings in the "hard" style using the objects listed above can be produced, these models will continue to point in Peto's direction.

Other things found in Peto's house also proved to have important bearing on the story. The most significant of these was a Government penny postcard sent to Peto in Lerado, Ohio, by his father (who was in Philadelphia) on September 7, 1894. I first felt this to be of value because it proves that Peto was in Lerado at least two months before *Old Scraps*, with its Lerado postmark, was painted. References in Cincinnati newspapers found subsequently showed that Peto was in Lerado all through the fall and winter of 1894-1895, and some of the old residents whom I interviewed when I visited that minute village recalled Peto well. But the postcard proved to be considerably more significant for an entirely different reason.

It bore the legend "United States of America" in shaded letters all across its front, and it had a stamp showing the head of Thomas Jefferson. Comparison showed that the penny postcard of *Old Scraps* was of this type: the shaded letters, of which only two ("ca") appear, and the Jefferson-head stamp, were inescapable. The files of the Postoffice Department in Washington established that this card was issued for the first time in 1894. Consequently if this passage in *Old Scraps* could be shown to have been part of the original picture and not a later addition, the painting was provably done after Harnett's death.

*Old Scraps* was sent to Sheldon Keck at the Brooklyn Museum. His examination showed no reason for believing that the postcard was a late addition. And his examination further revealed, buried under the repaint to the left of and slightly below the presumed Harnett signature, the signature of John F. Peto. Peto's signature, similarly painted over, has since turned up repeatedly in other paintings.



## VII

The following is a list of paintings, all ascribed to William Michael Harnett, which, in my opinion, should be given to John F. Peto. The evidence upon which this proposed reascription is based is of four different types, relating to style as observed with and without scientific aids, chirography (including unacceptable Harnett signatures, buried Peto signatures, and inscriptions other than signatures), iconography, and to the materials employed. The evidence will be discussed with reference to each picture after the list itself has been given.

1. *Old Books* (New York: Nelson A. Rockefeller)
2. *The Old Cremona* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art)
3. *Old Scraps* (New York: Museum of Modern Art)
4. *Box of Books* (New York: Alfred H. Barr, Jr.)
5. *Career's End* (Pittsburgh: Edgar Kaufmann)
6. *The Marked Passage* (New York: Alfred H. Barr, Jr.)
7. *Breakfast* (New York: Mrs. C. N. Bliss)
8. *Old Reminiscences* (Washington, D.C.: Phillips Memorial Gallery)
9. *Old Souvenirs* (New York: Oliver Jennings)
10. *Old Friends* (New York: Alfred H. Barr, Jr.)
11. *Nine Books* (Chicago: Earle Ludgin)
12. *After Night's Study* (Detroit: Robert A. Tannahill)
13. *Discarded Treasures* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College Museum of Art)
14. *Protection* (Haverford, Pennsylvania: Mrs. H. Gates Lloyd)
15. *Research* (New York: Downtown Gallery)
16. *Sustenance* (New York: Julian Levy)
17. *For Sunday Dinner* (New York: Downtown Gallery)
18. *The Gray Jug* (New York: Morris Kantor)
19. *The Writer's Table* (New York: Edith Gregor Halpert)

Before turning to the laboratory reports on these pictures, it might be well to summarize the evidence concerning them which is discernible with the naked eye.

All these works are in Peto's style, early or late, and not in Harnett's. (To amplify this generalization would require repeating, in each case, those characteristics of Peto's manner which have already been described.) Nos. 4 and 9 belong to the early period of Peto's work, and both can be dated. (Among the objects represented in No. 9 is a copy of the *Philadelphia Bulletin* for October 10, 1881, while laboratory examination brought out the date, 1884, on No. 4.) All the other pictures were probably done much later; as we have seen, No. 3 bears postmarks dated 1894 and No. 8 shows, painted as if whittled into the door which serves this picture as background, the date 1900.

So far as the chirographic evidence is concerned, all these pictures bear forged Harnett signatures, while Nos. 3, 8, and 9 contain inscriptions in Peto's handwriting; furthermore, Peto's signature could be read with the naked eye on No. 1, and, in my opinion, on No. 2.

The interpretation of an inscription which has been overpainted and which has worked up through the overpaint with time and cleanings is often not entirely clear. Consequently there were those who disputed my finding of Peto's signature on No. 2, but Albert Osborn, the handwriting expert, felt, after studying enlarged photographs of the passage in question, that my interpretation was at least conceivably correct, while, as Mr. Keck put it, "traces of an inscription into which the signature 'J. F. Peto' could have fitted were observed" on this canvas. Regardless of the question of the Peto signature, there can be little doubt that No. 2 is in Peto's style, and that the presumed Harnett signature which it bears does not resemble the signature on any provable painting by that

artist or on any painting stylistically consistent with his provable works. (Incidentally, it is by no means inconceivable that No. 2 is the *Hang Up the Fiddle and the Bow* referred to in the Peto forgery story in the Blemly scrapbook.)

Specific iconographic evidence linking these pictures to Peto is present in Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, and 19. In some cases, the models in question still exist in Peto's house. In other cases, the models no longer exist but appear profusely in provable Petos; none, however, has yet been found in a provable Harnett nor in a painting stylistically similar to the provable Harnetts.

The evidence of the materials is as follows:

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, and 19 are on canvas. All the others are on academy board except for No. 18, which is on wood, a substance often employed by both Harnett and Peto. (The presumed Harnett signature on No. 18 was scratched through the paint with the point of a pin; this method is unique in the series.) Nos. 3, 8, 12, and 13 are on the Pfleger stretcher. Nos. 4 and 9, as we have seen, were painted before the Pfleger stretcher was on the market, while No. 17 is not on the original stretcher.

The Weber label appears on the backs of Nos. 1, 6, 7, 10, and 11; the other academy boards either show no trace of a label or else suggest that a label was once present and has been removed. (No. 16, an academy board, was not made available for examination and I therefore do not know whether or not it is one of the Weber group. My opinion of it is based entirely on a photograph.)

The Pfleger stretcher and the Weber academy board are significant for two reasons. First of all, they never occur with provable or stylistically and chirographically acceptable Harnetts, but they do occur over and over again with provable Petos, and they therefore legitimately form part, if the smallest and least important part, of the chain of evidence linking the suspected paintings to that artist. The Pfleger stretcher and the Weber board also help to date the suspected paintings, as well as the known Petos, with which they appear, at least roughly. As we have seen, F. Weber and Company took that name in 1887, and therefore any picture bearing its label under that designation could not have been painted before that year. For a long time prior to 1887 the organization was known as Janentzky and Weber, and numerous unquestioned Petos bearing this label have been found. Weber's store and Peto's studio were in the same building, at 1123 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, all through the 1880's, and Peto seems to have bought his materials from Weber throughout his entire career. Although the Pfleger stretcher was patented in 1886, it does not appear in Weber's catalogue before 1890.

### VIII

Laboratory reports have been prepared on Nos. 2 to 15 in the list. All these pictures were studied by Sheldon Keck at the Brooklyn Museum except No. 12, which was examined by William Suhr at the Detroit Institute of Arts. No. 16, as previously observed, was not made available for examination in any way, and No. 18 was not sent to the laboratory. Nos. 17 and 19 have, I am given to understand, been studied by a laboratory expert, but no reports on them were forthcoming up to the time of writing.

Peto's signature was found, after the removal of overpaint, on Nos. 3 to 8 inclusive. Since it was also found with the naked eye on No. 1 and, in my opinion, No. 2, this particular proof of Peto's authorship has been discovered in a little more than half of those cases in which an effort to find it has, to my knowledge, been made. Nos. 4 and 5 also yielded up dates: '84, as we have seen, in the case of No. 4, and '91 in the case of No. 5.

In every case but one, these Peto signatures were quite clear and showed little or no evidence of attempts at removal before the overpaint was applied. In the case of No. 8, however, Mr. Keck reports only "remnants of an almost completely destroyed signature in black and below it a probable

date. In my opinion the signature was that of John F. Peto, although it is now quite illegible. The first name, John, is the only part that can, with some certainty, be reconstructed." Mr. Keck also reports that "the dark repaint" in No. 8 "is very similar in color and quality to the repaint over the Peto signature" in No. 3; in view of the strong parallels already drawn between No. 3 and No. 8, and the identical character and medium of Handwriting 1, which appears on both, this observation is of particular interest.

Peto's signature could not be found on Nos. 9 to 15. So far as Nos. 16 to 19 are concerned, we have no expert testimony bearing on this aspect of the problem.

To quote Mr. Keck's report verbatim so far as it touches on Nos. 9 to 15: "An area of discolored repaint in the upper right of the Barr picture (No. 10) under which appeared to be an effaced inscription was a suspicious circumstance. Repainted areas were present in the Jennings picture (No. 9) but no trace of a signature was found underneath. Paint of a different density and darker color, possibly repaint, was found under part of the signature in the Smith College painting (No. 13). The Ludgin picture (No. 11) showed a repainted area in the upper right, but infra-red photography failed to penetrate it. It is possible that removal of the paint would reveal additional evidence." (In submitting his picture for examination, Mr. Ludgin had requested that no paint be removed.)

Regardless of what these smudgy or repainted areas may mean, the ascription of these pictures to Peto does not stand or fall by the presence or absence of his signature. Its presence is strongly presumptive of his authorship, but its absence is not disproof, since Peto, unlike Harnett, left many unsigned paintings and his name may have been removed from others. (It seems to have been partially removed from No. 8.)

Ascription to Peto rests on the total configuration of several factors of which his signature is only one. The Peto signature could be disregarded or even looked upon with suspicion (as could any other single factor in the whole except his style) if it did not invariably occur along with other things, some of them pointing directly to this painter and others pointing away from Harnett. These things are Peto's manner of drawing and applying paint, his models, his handwriting on addresses and other inscriptions, his materials, inscribed dates falling within his lifetime but after the death of Harnett, and forged Harnett signatures. All the factors may not appear simultaneously in every instance (in fact, all of them are present only in the cases of *Old Scraps* and *Old Reminiscences* among those pictures which have been thoroughly worked on), but there are never less than two of them in any one case, and Peto's style is present in the entire group.

Ten provable Harnetts, ten provable Petos, and eleven of the suspected paintings (Nos. 3 to 7, 9 to 11, and 13 to 15 in the above list) were submitted to Mr. Keck for examination by x-ray; an x-ray of No. 8 taken in Washington was also available. Mr. Keck states that in his opinion the radiographs of all the suspected pictures "reveal structure and technique which are closer to those found in radiographs of paintings by Peto than those found in Harnett."

The differences revealed by x-ray are set forth as follows in Mr. Keck's report:

"1. Harnett invariably used a fresh canvas, planned his composition and carried it through with no changes; Peto frequently used a canvas on which he had started or finished another picture and often changed his composition to a major or minor degree as he progressed in his painting.

"2. Harnett used an indirect method of painting in that he first painted his objects in their local color over which he did his modeling or shadows in thin, glazelike paint; as a result, completely modeled objects often appear as flat, even densities in the radiographs, particularly objects which are made up of paints containing lead. Peto modeled his paintings directly, and the modeling is shown by different densities in the radiographs.

"3. Harnett's backgrounds are usually painted thinly and do not visualize in the radiographs.



Peto's backgrounds are generally more opaque and show density in the radiographs. Often they were painted after the objects were completed and are thinner as they approach the outlines of the objects. In the radiographs, a dark outline appears around Peto's objects as a result of this technique.

"4. Harnett's lines, highlights, and edges are very sharp and definite; Peto's are fuzzy by comparison.

"5. Harnett's brushwork is less distinct in the radiographs, areas of the same color on the surface showing an even, equal density in the radiograph. Peto's brushwork is broader and more broken, so that areas of the same color appear uneven in density in the radiographs."

At Mr. Keck's suggestion, numerous macrophotographs of details in Harnetts, Petos, and suspected paintings were taken. These "intensify their differences in style and technique. This is to be seen in the microscopic treatment used by Harnett as opposed to the broader, more heavily brushed technique of Peto. These confirm the already observed differences in style to be seen in the paintings themselves."

Evidence brought forth by microscopic examination and by ultra-violet light shows that, in the great majority of instances, the forged Harnett signatures have been present on the Petos for a very long time. Harnett was a celebrity and sold quite well in his last years; and I have found references to him as the foremost American still-life painter published as late as 1901. There was, therefore, good commercial reason to bring out "new" Harnetts for a considerable period after the artist's death. If the Harnett forgery story in the Blemly scrapbook can be believed, this sort of thing was going on as early as April 1893, six months after Harnett's decease. And a recent occurrence within this general framework is also to be recorded.

When I left Island Heights in July of 1947 I took with me a little Peto on academy board, strikingly like No. 16 in the list above. This was floated into the market in Philadelphia. At the time, it bore no signature or identifying mark of any kind except a small check-mark which I placed on its back myself. It turned up in New York in December of the same year. On its back, in addition to the check-mark, was a rubbed, old-looking inscription in pencil: "Painting by Harnett/Property of Mrs. A. Lovell (?)/Chestnut Hill, Pa." No owner was mentioned at the time this picture went into the market and nothing was said about Chestnut Hill.

Last of all, so far as the evidence in the matter of Harnett and Peto is concerned, one must mention the extremely curious case in which everything went into reverse gear—that is to say, the case of a known, signed, accepted, stylistically correct Peto with a partial history which suddenly and most unexpected sprouted a Harnett signature.

This is a picture of a box of books, very like No. 4 in our list of the wrongly ascribed paintings, except that it seems to be unfinished and is flimsily dashed together in certain spots. It bore an undated signature, "J. F. Peto," on the front. On its back was an inscription "Take Your Choice/....Artist/Philadelphia, Pa." Peto often inscribed the backs of his pictures in this way, but in this instance the whole inscription had been surrounded with white paint, obviously a late addition, and there was a remarkably heavy concentration of white just before the word "Artist," where the painter's name would normally appear. It is known that Peto exhibited a picture called *Take Your Choice* at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1885.

At my suggestion, the owner of this picture, John Barnes of New York, had the white paint on the back removed, and the name of Peto came out very clearly. Mr. Barnes also had the surface of the canvas cleaned, and this brought out a second Peto signature with the date, '85, and, strangely enough a typical forged Harnett signature as well.

What this means is anyone's guess. Apparently Peto made changes in this picture after showing it at the Academy in 1885, and at that time painted out the original signature and put in a new

one. At some later time an effort must have been made to pass off this work as a Harnett by removing Peto's name from the back and putting Harnett's on the front, but there is no way of explaining why Peto's second signature was not covered over on the front as well as his name on the back, nor can one explain why the Harnett signature was hidden.

## IX

That Peto himself was completely innocent of the forged signatures is proven by a great many things. First of all, he would not have put his own signature on so many of these works if he had intended to place them on the market as Harnetts. Secondly, the forged Harnett signatures are of many different types, showing that many different hands were involved in their making; furthermore forged Harnett signatures on works by artists other than Peto are usually of the same types as those on the Petos. Third, Peto made no effort to imitate Harnett's style, specific models, or handwriting. Finally, if Peto had wanted to sell pictures of his own as Harnetts, he would not have dated two of them after Harnett's death, an event of which he was very well aware, since newspaper clippings relating to it were found in his house.

Peto did, however, imitate certain features of Harnett's subject matter and composition. In his home at Island Heights I found an old glass negative of a lost "rack" picture by Harnett dated 1879, and a photographic print of this same painting turned up in the collection of Harnettiana owned by Mrs. Harry Harmstad of Philadelphia, the daughter of Harnett's close friend, E. Taylor Snow. It is very likely that the lost Harnett "rack" served Peto as a pattern for works of his own. Peto painted numerous "racks," but the earliest known one is dated 1881. (The lost Harnett "rack" bears, inscribed on one of its envelopes, the phrase "to the lady of the house"; an unquestioned Peto of 1897 now at the Wadsworth Atheneum has an envelope reading "... of the house.") Ironically enough, although Peto seems beholden to Harnett for the "rack" formula, the three famous pictures of this type ascribed to Harnett (*Old Scraps*, *Old Reminiscences*, and *Old Souvenirs*) are all Petos with forged signatures, and no authentic Harnett "rack" is known to exist at the present time.

The Metropolitan's *Old Cremona* seems clearly to have been influenced in subject matter and composition by Harnett's *Old Violin* of 1886, concerning which more will be told in a moment; the Smith College *Discarded Treasures* seems to have been influenced in the same way by Harnett's *Job Lot Cheap*, now in the collection of Julian Nugent in St. Louis (see Lloyd Goodrich, "Harnett and Peto: A Note on Style," pp. 57f., Figs. 1-3, this issue); and an old photograph of Peto in his studio which I found at Island Heights shows on the easel a distinctly Harnett-like still-life with books, a violin, a mug, and some flowers on a table top, and with a sheet of music hanging over the edge. But whatever Peto took from Harnett he transmogrified in terms of his own style.

Peto's quality is very uneven. Harnett's quality is almost completely consistent and on a high level. And this is understandable in the light of the very different lives which both men led.

John Frederick Peto was born in Philadelphia in 1854 and died at Island Heights in 1907. His father, Thomas Hope Peto, was a manufacturer of fire-fighting equipment during a good part of his life. The son was brought up by his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Hoffman Hamm, although his mother was alive and even survived him. The residence of Mrs. Hamm at 245 Spruce Street was to be Peto's own for many years.

Peto is listed as a student at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1878, but he could not have remained there very long, for in the catalogues of Pennsylvania Academy exhibitions, which list works of his irregularly from 1879 to 1887, he is said to have been self-taught. (An interesting sidelight on the workings of the venerable Academy is that invitations to exhibit in its annuals still come each year to John F. Peto at Island Heights, more than forty years after his death.)



Peto first appears as an artist in the Philadelphia City Directory for 1876, and he remains listed, with various studio addresses, until 1891. During those years in Philadelphia, Peto, whose father sold fire engines and was a member of the Philadelphia Volunteer Fire Department, played the cornet in the First Regiment Band. (It would be in the great tradition to picture him painting the elder Peto's fire engines, like John Quidor and other American artists before him, but we don't know that he did.) Meanwhile, a Methodist group established a camp meeting at Island Heights, and there Peto went on week ends to play hymns on his cornet and lead the shouting. Ultimately he built his own house there, and there he brought his bride, whom he had met on a brief visit to Cincinnati in 1887.

In his last years he lived exclusively at Island Heights, his work and his marriage more than slightly shadowed by the presence in the house of two ancient aunts, Margaret and Maria Hamm, whom he supported throughout their lives, who prevented his going to Europe to study when he wanted to do so, and who, at the end, were confined in their senility to upper rooms of the house and rattled the locks on their doors while their nephew below tried to paint still-life. Much of his energy in his last years was also wasted on a protracted suit over the property of still another aunt, Caroline Hamm, who died under mysterious circumstances at Tivoli, New York, in 1899, leaving a valuable estate concerning which there were bitter quarrels for a long time.

Little or no recognition came to him during his life. He had a desperate economic struggle, painted pictures to glorify chiropodists, shoemakers, hatters, and politicians, may have designed greeting cards, and probably had a photographic studio for some time. He must have painted with great rapidity to sell, and at any price; witness the vast quantity of unfinished painting he left behind and his incalculable number of small pictures, some of which bear price marks in his own handwriting as low as three and four dollars. When he died, he died a failure, at least in the eyes of everyone else. His widow seems to have destroyed practically all of his papers, and possibly some of his paintings and other belongings. All this is very different from the quiet, aloof, careful personality of Harnett. And these differences of personality and experience make for profound differences in the work of the two men.

In the beginning, Harnett loves his mug and his pipe. Later he tends toward richer, more suave and sumptuous subject matter—fine old books, fine old violins, antiques and bric-a-brac. Harnett belongs, with his own very marked stylistic personality, in the sumptuous tradition of the Dutch still-life painters of the seventeenth century. Peto, on the other hand, is less often rich or sumptuous. His world of dog-eared books, old postal cards, torn-off labels, crumpled tickets, ancient envelopes, rusty hinges, forgotten photographs, frayed string, and crusted candlesticks reminds one of such modern artists as Loren MacIver, with her painting of a cracked sidewalk, or Kurt Schwitters, with his *Merzbilder* pasted together from the contents of the nearest wastebasket.

To be sure, there is much pure fantasy in Peto. His half-revealed letters, like those of Harnett, tempt you to step close and read someone else's private correspondence, making sure first that no one is around to see you; and the discovery that the letters are illegible leaves you feeling a little embarrassed; but that is only a small part of the story. The main thing is that one leaves Peto with a quickened sense of the pathos of the discarded and the magnificence of the commonplace. Haroun-al-Raschid never commanded anything more splendid in forms and shapes than the crowded window of any Philadelphia hardware store, with its clutter of squares and rulers, angle irons, spools of wire, baseball mitts, and fishing reels hanging from threads and glinting brassily in the light. Here, on the pavement under foot, on the weathered fence that you pass, in the pile of burst-open boxes heaped about a trash can, right here and now is a miraculous world of bright, fantastic, and curious things to be seen if you will only open your eyes. Such, it seems to me, is a major quality of Peto, and it is unique among the still-life painters of the nineteenth century. It is, perhaps, an attitude



more likely to be developed by one born and raised in an old city than in a new one. But it may also be that the whole Philadelphia tradition, from the days of Charles Willson Peale and John Krimmel to those of George Luks and John Sloan, is one of realistic observation tinged with humor and pathos. In a sense, then, John Frederick Peto is consistent with his greatest local contemporary, Thomas Eakins. Eakins saw the humanity of men, Peto the humanity of what men had used up and forgotten; and both were rejected by the Gilded Age.

## X

There are, in my opinion, nineteen known Petos with forged Harnett signatures. Forged Harnett signatures, many of them identical in type with those on the Petos, also appear on about twenty-five paintings by other hands. Many of these seem to be the work of students or amateurs; they are so poor in quality and so lacking in personality that one cannot perceive any genuine stylistic traits in them. Some, however, are by very good artists, and in most of these cases the actual painters can be tracked down.

A special difficulty arises in connection with paintings of paper money. The whole trick here was to produce as close a facsimile of the original as could possibly be made; consequently this subject left little leeway in which personal characteristics of style might find expression. Harnett's bills, however, differ markedly from those of others in being extremely worn, dull and dirt-stained in color, and they possess a rough, pitted texture in which one may often see little channel-like marks apparently made with the handle of a brush. When the surface of a bill picture is smooth, when its emphasis is upon line rather than tone, and when its color is bright, the signature is likely to depart markedly from Harnett's norm, and suspicious materials, like academy board, are likely to be present. Such bill pictures, like the ones owned by Richard Loeb and William McKim of New York, must be rejected so far as their ascription to Harnett is concerned, although in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to assign them specifically to other artists. But when bank notes are painted along with other objects, identification becomes much easier, as in one quite important instance.

This takes us back to the *Edwin Booth* picture and others to which it is related (Figs. 12, 13, and 14). The most famous of these related paintings (Fig. 12) is the *Dollar Bill and Playbill*, signed Harnett, which Nelson Rockefeller gave to the late President Franklin Roosevelt as a token of respect when he gave up his work as a dollar-a-year man in Washington (it is now in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York). Before Mr. Keck worked on it, only two objects were visible in this picture: a dollar bill lying across the playbill at Ford's Theater on the night of Lincoln's assassination. Investigation showed that this was not the actual playbill used at Ford's Theater on that famous occasion, but is the so-called "Brown reprint" of it—one of the several facsimiles which were hastily gotten up in the days following Lincoln's death and were hawked about the streets of Washington as souvenirs. The Harnett signature on this picture, which is on a mahogany panel, is uncharacteristic and unacceptable.

The second painting in the series, also on a mahogany panel, is in the Oberlin College Art Gallery (Fig. 13). It is signed "N. A. Brooks, N.Y." It, too, shows the "Brown reprint" of the Ford's Theater playbill; across this are a ten-dollar note and a check for seven hundred dollars drawn on the Fifth National Bank of New York on February 21, 1888, to the order of James A. Bostwick, and signed "Robert Fullerton." In one corner is a newspaper clipping headed "General Robert Fullerton's Old Curiosity Shop." (The only James A. Bostwick listed in the New York City Directory for 1888 was a photographer on Sixth Avenue concerning whom no information could be obtained.)

*To Edwin Booth* (Fig. 14) is on a mahogany panel of approximately the same size, shape,

weight, and thickness as the Oberlin picture. It is signed "W. M. Harnett, 1879," but, as we have seen, that date is inconsistent with the dates of other objects in the painting, and, besides, the handwriting of the signature is completely uncharacteristic; its creator did not even attempt to copy Harnett's monogram-like arrangement of his initials, a thing imitated more or less successfully by all the other forgers except one. As previously indicated, *To Edwin Booth* shows an eighteenth century Philadelphia playbill; a five-dollar note dated "series of 1880"; a letter to Edwin Booth at the Players Club in New York, which was founded in 1888; and the first page of the catalogue prepared for the sale of the collection of Dr. James R. Leaming, which took place in April 1893, well after Harnett's death.

Two other features of this picture were not mentioned in our first description. One is that the letter bears not only the address of the Players Club but another address as well. Through the underpaint one can read quite easily, even in ordinary photographs, "219 3 Ave." And some paint has clearly been removed from this work. The postmarks on the letter are from Beyrouth, Syria, but the dates have been scraped off, and something has also been taken away from the bottom of the Leaming catalogue page.

Comparison of the painted Leaming page with its original shows that what has been removed is the name of Robert Fullerton. Furthermore, Robert Fullerton's Old Curiosity Shop was at 219 Third Avenue from 1889 to 1899. So we have two references to Fullerton on the surface of the Brooks at Oberlin and two hidden references to the same man on the *Edwin Booth*, which could not have been painted during Harnett's lifetime and employs exactly the same type of panel as the Brooks.

Fullerton died in 1904. Shortly afterward, on April 10 of that year, the *New York Tribune* published a story about him and his Old Curiosity Shop. Among the features of the place which are mentioned are a punch bowl, once the property of Thomas Jefferson, which Fullerton had obtained from Leaming, and Fullerton's extremely large collection of rare old playbills. There are old playbills in all these pictures, and the one represented in *To Edwin Booth* must have been very rare indeed. A copy of it was sold at auction in Philadelphia in 1895, and was considered so important that it was reproduced in the catalogue, which stated that it was the only copy then known to exist.

The Roosevelt *Dollar Bill and Playbill* was submitted to Mr. Keck for examination. On it he discovered a ruined inscription which he did not attempt to interpret. To the eye of this observer, paraphrasing an earlier statement of Mr. Keck's, the name "N. A. Brooks" could easily be fitted into this passage. Mr. Keck's examination of this picture also brought out a hitherto unknown newspaper clipping which had been painted over. Most of it had been scraped off before the overpaint was applied, but some lettering on it is still visible. Only one word remains legible. That one, perhaps not insignificant, word is "Robert."

The evidence seems plain, then, that N. A. Brooks painted both the *Dollar Bill and Playbill* and *To Edwin Booth*. But N. A. Brooks is the one artist involved in the Harnett story about whom I have been able to find next to nothing. Apparently he belonged to no societies, never exhibited anywhere, and made no perceptible dent in the artistic life of his time. All one can find out about him is that his first name was Nicholas and that he is listed as an artist in New York City Directories between 1880 and 1904. Four or five still-lives of his, in the Harnett tradition but crude in drawing and color and poor in composition, have recently wandered into New York dealers' galleries, and looking at the *Dollar Bill and Playbill* and *To Edwin Booth* with the hindsight they provide, one can see that the edges and outlines of these presumed Harnetts are far weaker than any authentic works of his should be. But the Brooks mystery is deepened when one turns to the Blemly scrapbook and therein reads a newspaper clipping, without source or date, about an Old

Curiosity Club that met at Robert Fullerton's Old Curiosity Shop. Brooks is not mentioned among its members, but "the late William M. Harnett" is. However, in order to use this clipping as evidence that Harnett could have painted *To Edwin Booth* (on which no other signature has been found), it will be necessary to demonstrate that in 1879 Harnett knew that a new series of Federal notes was to be issued in the following year, that the Players Club would be founded nine years later, that Dr. James Leaming would die five weeks after his own death, and that the Leaming sale would be held four months after that.

## XI

Two paintings by Harnett were particularly celebrated during his lifetime. One was his *After the Hunt* of 1885 and the other his *Old Violin* of 1886. Both pictures have been extensively imitated. Rather strangely, no imitation of *After the Hunt* has, to my knowledge, been offered as a work by the author of the original, although several pictures vaguely like it have been. But imitations of *The Old Violin* are ascribed to Harnett in the catalogues of several collections.

This picture (Fig. 15) was painted in New York in 1886 and was purchased at the Cincinnati Exposition of that year by Frank Tuchfarber, who made signs for Cincinnati retail stores by a process of lithography on glass which he had invented, and who was also an amateur violinist and violin maker and one of the founders of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra. In 1887 Tuchfarber produced a fine chromolithograph of *The Old Violin*, of which he must have sold thousands of copies, for innumerable examples of it still exist, and in every corner of the country. The rarer and better version is on glass (Fig. 16), the more common version on paper. Buried in the last line of the meaningless, illegible lettering of the newspaper clipping in the chromo one may often read the words "Gus Ilg, Cincin." (This has been effaced, for an unknown reason, from some copies.) Ilg is listed in the Cincinnati City Directory for many years as a lithographer; obviously he was the technician who did the work for Tuchfarber.

Ilg could not equal Harnett's draughtsmanship. The violin of the chromo is heavier than the original, especially along its left-hand edge; the ends of the tuning pegs inside the peg box are flat rather than round, the bow is more like a club, and the nails in the door have no spirit. Ilg also made five mistakes in the sheet music which hangs behind the fiddle, a thing which Harnett could not and did not do. Harnett is said to have played the flute, and so, presumably, knew how to read music, although his taste in it, to judge from the compositions he uses as models in his paintings, was very ordinary; however, even if Harnett had not been able to read music, his observation was so acute as to rule out the possibility of errors in copying. We have no reason to believe that he could read Chinese, but several of his paintings represent vases covered with ideographs, and these can be read without difficulty by those who know the language.

The Ilg-Tuchfarber chromo was so popular that imitations and adaptations of it in oil were very commonly made, and some of these oil copies have come on the market as Harnetts.

I became aware of this, or rather of the method of identifying these copies as spurious so far as Harnett is concerned, in a roundabout and curious way. At the Butler Art Institute in Youngstown, Ohio, is a painting of a violin which that museum bought as a Harnett in 1917. Unlike most others of its type, this is not a direct copy of the Cincinnati painting or chromo, but an adaptation of it; the music behind the violin is entirely different from that of the Cincinnati picture, while more music, a book, and a piccolo are on a table top below the fiddle; the letter is at the right rather than the left, and there are other minor differences. The letter is addressed to "H. H. Baker, General Post Office, New York." There is no Harnett signature or any other inscription relating to him.

The Youngstown picture is handsome, but seemed a little gross for Harnett. It also has a few passages of free brushwork, which are completely outside the Harnett tradition. My early thinking



about it was not illuminated by the knowledge of Harnett's handwriting which was established later, nor did I know at this time that the absence of a signature from any work ascribed to this artist is to be regarded with extreme suspicion. Letters addressed to all kinds of people appear in the paintings of Harnett, and the name of H. H. Baker meant nothing to me.

In the summer of 1947 a copy of the Tuchfarber chromo was presented to the YWCA in Fargo, North Dakota, and a photograph of this was published in the *Fargo Forum* for July 20 of that year. On August 3, the *Forum* published a letter from Mrs. Charles Ira Gross of Oakes, North Dakota, stating that she had an oil copy of the same picture which had been presented to her by the artist who made it fifty-seven years before. In response to my inquiries, Mrs. Gross stated that the artist in question was Harry H. Baker, who lived in Minneapolis a good part of his life. A photograph of the Gross painting shows a closer, cruder adaptation of the Harnett original than the version in Youngstown, but the name on the letter is in exactly the same handwriting in both instances. In other words, Baker quite honestly signed his pictures in the same place and in the same way as Harnett.

Nearly all the copies and adaptations of the Harnett chromo bear different names on the letter. It cannot be assumed, however, that the name is that of the artist in each case. A direct and detailed copy now in the hands of a New York collector, a photograph of which I have seen and which appears to be the best of all the oil copies so far discovered, is inscribed on the letter with the name of H. J. Trinkner of Cleveland, who turns out to have been a hotel proprietor. He might have been an amateur artist, too, but that version is done with a remarkable degree of skill for an amateur. All the direct copies of the chromo, including the Trinkner, sedulously repeat the errors in the music for which Ilg was responsible; this is true of the one now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Hennessy of Seattle, while the very crude one inscribed with the name of Julia Robb of South Brooklyn, now in the collection of Robert Freund in New York, adds some further errors of its own.

An amusing commentary on this matter of adaptations of the Harnett chromo is that one such picture, submitted quite unashamedly as the work of the man who painted it, won a prize at the annual exhibition of the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh in 1938. The judges, well-known professional members of the art world, had never heard of Harnett, but the people of Pittsburgh had. Copies of the chromo came tumbling from parlor walls and the newspapers had some fun. One year later the Harnett revival was on; no such episode has recurred, nor is it ever likely to.

## XII

Certain other pictures bear obviously forged Harnett signatures and strong suggestions of the known styles of other artists. This is true of two hunting cabin still-lives I have seen, both of them in the manner of Richard LaBarre Goodwin; one of these belongs to Edward Wallace of New York and the other was shown me at the Ferargil Galleries in the summer of 1947. The small still-life called *The Morning Telegraph* in the Tannahill collection in Detroit, seems to be in the style of Harnett's predecessor, John F. Francis; certainly it has none of Harnett's peculiarities and its signature is completely wrong. *Raspberries and Ice Cream*, in the Oliver Jennings collection, concerning the authenticity of which there has been some published difference of opinion, would fit nicely into a show of still-lives by George Cope of West Chester, Pennsylvania. Although the manner of *Raspberries and Ice Cream* is far from Harnett's, its signature is close to the real thing. However, the picture is dated 1870, and this is four years too early. Mrs. Harmstad possesses two little pictures by Harnett, framed with a note in the artist's handwriting which reads, "Compliments of William Harnett to Friend E. T. Snow, my first paintings in oil." Both these paintings are dated 1874.

Only one other presumed Harnett dated before 1874 is known. This is *To the Opera*, at the Downtown Gallery, which is likewise dated 1870, and which cannot be accepted on stylistic grounds regardless of its date.

A few of the other unacceptable works ascribed to Harnett are quite charming pictures, like *The Newark Times* in the collection of Henry Schnakenberg; most, however, are poor and dull. Almost any kind of middle-aged still-life is likely to turn up with a Harnett signature on it; I have even seen one in a kind of Renoiresque manner, with impressionistic dots and swatches of color. But these things are on the ludicrous outside edges of the story and do not possess sufficient quality ever to attain much prominence.

It is the Petos and the Goodwins, and the whole host of potential "Harnetts" that lie in the works of such excellent, unknown American still-life painters of Harnett's time as J. D. Chalfant, John Haberle, George W. Platt, John Marion Shinn, Joseph Decker, and Alexander Pope that are interesting, and, from a certain point of view, dangerous. The danger, however, will not be great once these men have been thoroughly studied, as they well deserve to be.\*

#### SAN FRANCISCO

\* After this article had gone to the printer, a still-life signed and dated "E. N. Griffith, 1894," came into the possession of the Old Print Shop of New York and was published by that organization in its magazine *Panorama*, for January 1949 (IV, no. 5, p. 57). This painting bears a remarkable stylistic resemblance to the unacceptable "Harnett," *The Bachelor's*

*Friends*, at the Addison Gallery of American Art and uses some of the same models, including an identically bound copy of Bayard Taylor's *Views Afoot*. Mr. Keck, who has studied both pictures, concludes that *The Bachelor's Friends* "is surely by E. N. Griffith," and that "that mysterious painting is certainly solved, if you can solve a painting."

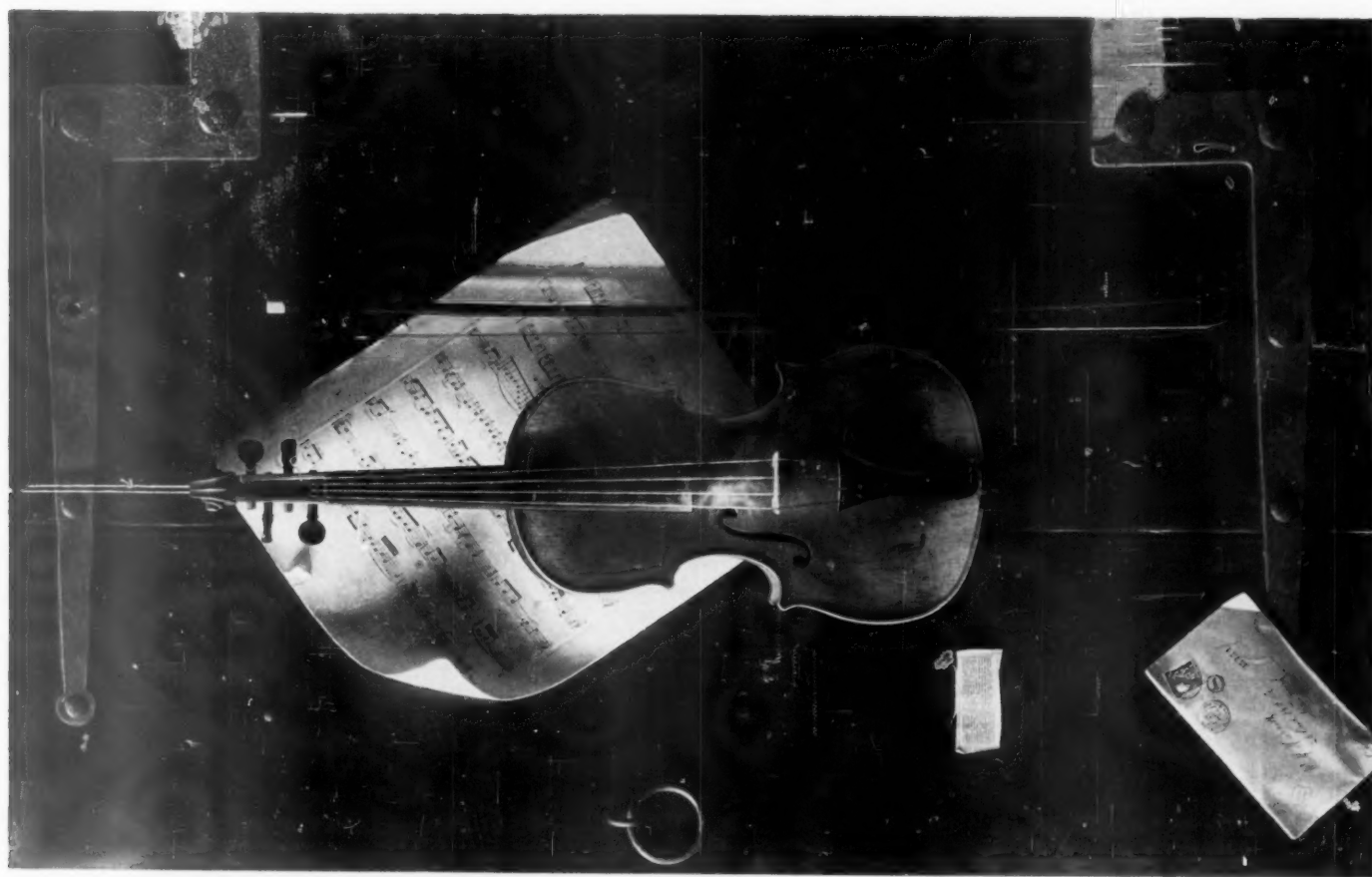


FIG. 15. W. M. Harnett, *The Old Violin*. Oil on canvas, 38 x 24. Cincinnati, Charles F. Williams

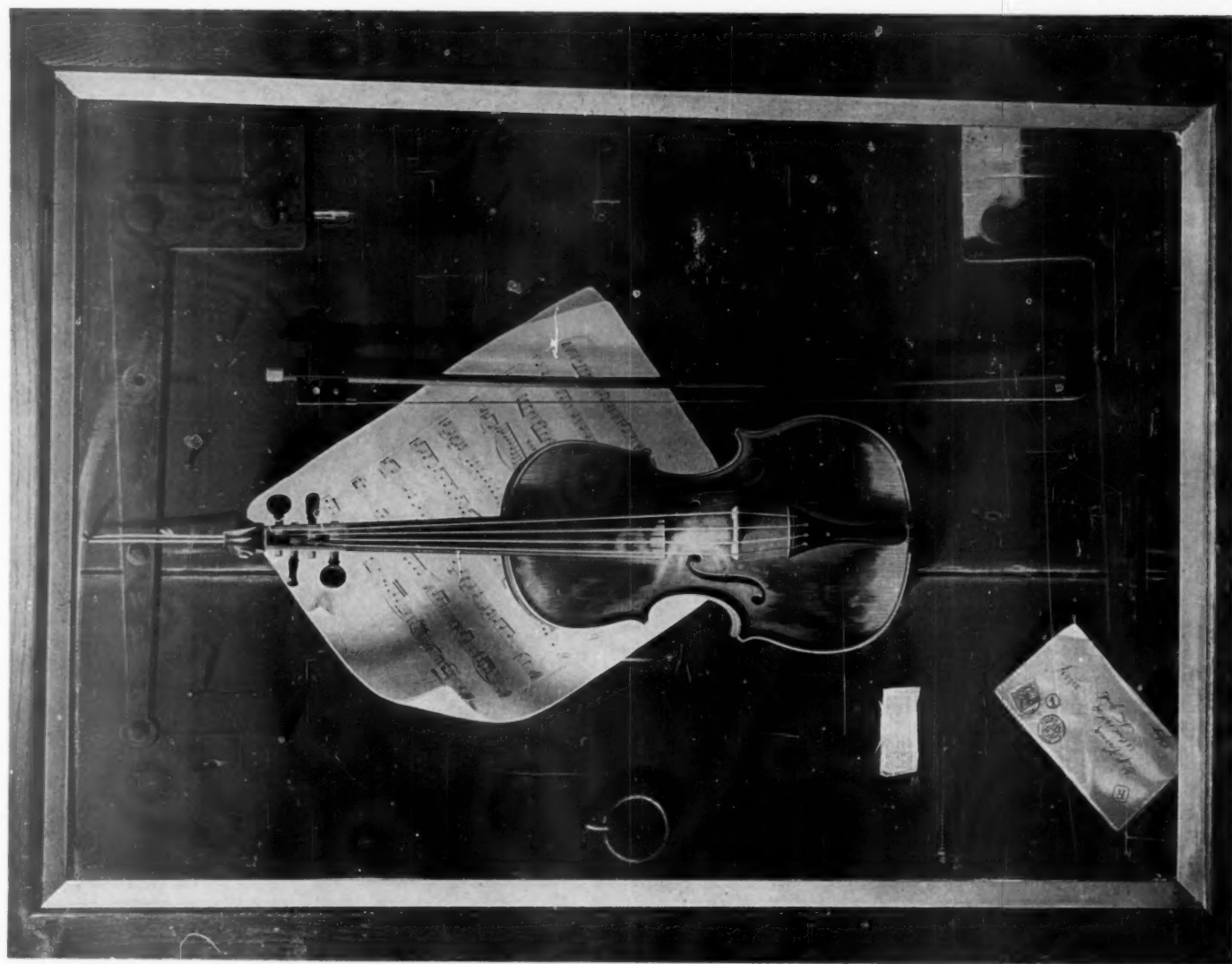


FIG. 16. Gus Ilg, Chromolithograph after W. M. Harnett, 35 x 24. San Francisco, Whitney Brothers





FIG. 1. W. M. Harnett, *Job Lot Cheap*. St. Louis, Mo., Julian Nugent



FIG. 2. *Discarded Treasures*. Northampton, Mass., Smith College Museum of Art. Here attributed to John F. Peto



FIG. 3. John F. Peto, *Books and Table Top*. Island Heights, N.J., Mrs. George Smiley

## NOTES

### HARNETT AND PETO: A NOTE ON STYLE

LLOYD GOODRICH

The following notes comparing the styles of William M. Harnett and John F. Peto are based on study of the voluminous material on the two painters assembled by Alfred Frankenstein, and on examination of a number of their paintings and of the scientific data on them gathered by Sheldon Keck (see this issue, pp. 38-56). In both cases the comparison is of their mature and not their early work.

There are decided differences in the subject matter of the two artists. Harnett's objects are usually fine in quality, luxurious, decorated, and often old, rare, or exotic. Musical instruments and sheet music recur frequently. He is considerably more specific than Peto; his paintings are portraits of individual objects, every detail rendered with microscopic fidelity. His books show titles and authors clearly (Fig. 1). He was concerned primarily with the physical existence of his objects and their physical qualities of form, material, and local color. With him light is definitely subordinate; it is usually diffused, contrasts of light and shadows are not particularly emphasized, and shadows are soft-edged. His textures are much finer and more varied than Peto's.

Harnett's style is completely three-dimensional. His forms are round, solid, placed in deep space. His pictures are strongly and carefully designed, with a clear sense of the relations of forms, and his compositions give a satisfying sense of completeness and inevitability.

His vision is extremely precise, hard, crystalline. Edges are clear-cut. The drawing is firm and unhesitating. Details such as the gold tooling on a book, the notes on a music sheet, the handwriting in letters, are painted with the utmost clarity and sureness, usually *alla prima*, without repainting. Highlights are exact and often heavily loaded, forming sharp spots or ridges which can be felt with the hand. In the radiographs the highlights appear very dense and clear, and even more noticeable than in the paintings themselves, because the artist usually glazed over them. The sureness of his procedure is confirmed by the radiographs, which show no changes.

He painted more translucently than Peto, with more contrast of opaque and thin pigment, building up his lights, often glazing over them, and leaving many passages translucent. Backgrounds are usually thinly painted. In painting a light-colored object he frequently underpainted the whole in light-toned pigment, then glazed the shadows over it; radiographs of such passages show the objects as fairly dense throughout.

Harnett belongs to an older tradition than Peto—the tradition of the Peales and of mid-nineteenth-century naturalism, with the object paramount, everything conceived in the full round and in deep space, the vision precise, the technique sure.

Peto, on the other hand, belongs to a later school, which in general can be called impressionist. He was more concerned with light and with the decorative values of light and shade.

Peto's subject matter is considerably less elegant than Harnett's. His objects are usually things of everyday use, and often old, worn, and dilapidated. Sometimes they reveal a strain of burlesque humor quite foreign to Harnett. His objects are not as definitely individualized as Harnett's. His books seldom show titles and authors (Fig. 3). By contrast with Harnett's intense concentration on details, Peto shows a tendency towards simplification. He was interested more in the shapes and colors of objects, and in the light on them, than in their specific details. His color is more sensuous, less severely functional, than Harnett's.

Peto's sense of form is not so strong as Harnett's. There is never the same degree of roundness or solidity in his forms. He tends to make everything somewhat flatter, with more sense of decorative values and less of three-dimensional structure. Harnett's crystalline clarity is lacking: forms are less precise, surfaces are softer, edges are vaguer. Surfaces are seldom polished or shiny. Highlights are never as exact or emphasized; in the radiographs they appear thin and diffused. Textures are less varied, tending to be somewhat alike. A marked peculiarity is that the lighted surfaces often have a dusty, powdered, or velvety appearance, as if the object were heavily coated with dust or powder, or had a surface of soft leather or velvet. Another pronounced mannerism is his way of painting torn labels or the worn edges of leather book bindings in a rounded, woolly style.

Light plays a much more prominent part than in Harnett's pictures. It is usually more direct and concentrated, generally from a single source, as if from one window, often almost horizontal, and with dramatic contrasts of light and shade. There are certain marked mannerisms in his handling of light. He liked to have it catch one side of an object, contrasting strongly with the shadow over the rest of the object or with a dark background. The areas of light and shade are broad and simplified, with a relatively sharp dividing line and little halftone. The whole lighted side tends to be somewhat flat, unified, and silhouetted, with the lightest light often near the outer edge. His handling of light and his velvety lighted surfaces have curious resemblances to Vermeer, and may have been the result of influence.

His technique is more opaque than Harnett's, using white mixed with colored pigments to secure his lights, instead of the older painter's glazing methods. Whereas Harnett's technique belongs in the mid-century tradition, Peto's belongs in the general impressionist style. There is little translucent painting in his pictures. He had a habit of working from dark to light, building up his lights and leaving depressed dark edges around

them; the radiographs often show dense forms surrounded by translucent outlines. He frequently used old canvases; the pictures underneath often visualize in the radiographs. He was not as sure in his procedure as Harnett; the radiographs frequently reveal changes—objects painted over, added or altered.

Harnett is the stronger and more distinguished artist of the two. He has an integrity of form, a depth and sculptural quality, a sense of design, a clarity of vision, and a severe purity of style that raise his art above the average still-life painting of his period. By comparison Peto seems a capable but not highly gifted painter with an original sense of subject matter. On the other hand he had qualities in which Harnett was deficient—an earthy realism and humor, more feeling for light and tone, more ability to simplify. He was very uneven; he painted many weak or mediocre pictures, but at his best he was one of the most interesting of American still-life painters.

One of the most important pictures formerly accepted as a Harnett but which should be reattributed to Peto on stylistic grounds, in the opinion of the writer and several other students, is *Discarded Treasures*, owned by the Smith College Museum (Fig. 2). Comparison with a similar unquestioned Peto (Fig. 3) and with the authenticated Harnett book picture, *Job Lot Cheap*, owned by Julian Nugent of St. Louis (Fig. 1), and comparison of the radiographs, convinced me that *Discarded Treasures* has the characteristics of Peto's style but not of Harnett's. There are no titles or authors on the books, nor any such specific details as in the Nugent picture or other Harnetts containing books; the quality of light and shade is that of Peto but not of Harnett; Peto's mannerisms of texture are present; the technique is more uniformly opaque than with Harnett. The contrast in degree of precision between the Smith College and Nugent pictures is especially noticeable; the latter shows an extreme precision and tangibility quite different from the other's greater illusionism. On the other hand, it is a testimony to its quality that it can hang beside the finest Harnetts without suffering by the juxtaposition.

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

#### THE CONTRIBUTION OF JACQUES-FRANÇOIS BLONDEL TO MARIETTE'S *ARCHITECTURE FRANÇOISE*

EMIL KAUFMANN

All through his teaching career Jacques-François Blondel advised his pupils to study carefully the buildings of their own country, old and modern, and he himself liked to comment upon them on the spot. We learn of his "conférences sur les lieux" from his *Discours sur la manière d'étudier l'architecture & les arts qui sont relatifs à celui de bâtir*. This speech was de-

livered on June 16, 1747, as the first of his second series of public lectures. It was printed as a pamphlet, and reprinted in the *Mercure de France*, August 1747, pp. 57-74. On page 62 we read: "Pour . . . joindre la pratique à la théorie, j'ai conçu que la quantité & la beauté des édifices que Paris & ses environs nous présentent, ne fourniroient les secours les plus puissans pour former les élèves qui me sont confiés. Je les conduis donc dans chacun de ces édifices. . . ."

Moreover, we have found in *L'Année littéraire*, (Amsterdam) 1759, III, p. 19, an announcement of guided tours which he conducted in the summer of 1759 under the title "Cours d'observations sur l'architecture." At the start of the course he delivered an introductory lecture in his studio and at the conclusion offered a summarizing survey. The itinerary did not simply follow topographical lines. The plan was to devote successive lectures to a discussion of buildings of a similar type, so that if, for example, one trip led to the Luxembourg, the following one was to the Tuileries; or the students were assembled once at the church of Val-de-Grace, and the next time at that of the Hôtel des Invalides.

Blondel's writings are in general comparatively little known except by their titles. A few passages about his extra-curricular activities giving a glimpse into eighteenth century cultural life may be of some interest. From the account in *L'Année littéraire* (1759, VIII, pp. 253-263) it is evident that his courses must have been frequented by a larger public than we could expect today to attend architectural classes. Courses dealing with the same topics were run simultaneously, one three times a week in the mornings and the other on alternate days in the afternoons. It was explained in the announcement that the afternoon classes were intended for amateurs who were kept busy in the earlier hours of the day by their professions, while the morning lectures were for those who were fully engaged in the afternoons by social affairs. In addition, Blondel held free classes for artists and men of the building trades on Sunday and holiday afternoons.

Blondel must always have held the belief that the examples set by previous generations as well as those provided by the moderns form an excellent introduction to architecture. Prior to the publication of the great *Architecture française* in 1752, he had devoted much time to a similar book, which has become known under the name of the publisher—Jean Mariette, *Architecture française*, 1727—although Blondel had the largest share in its completion, if indeed the whole idea did not originate with him. In the *Discours* of 1747, speaking of the importance of studying actual buildings, he refers to "le Recueil des Bâtimens intitulé *L'Architecture française*, que j'ai levés, dessinés & gravés, en trois volumes in-folio, & qui se vendent à Paris chez M. Mariette, rue S. Jacques" (*Mercure de France*, August 1747, p. 62, note). There is no doubt that this statement is correct. It was printed while Jean Mariette's son, Pierre-Jean, was alive and could have rebuked the architect had it not been so. In view of Blondel's large share in the Mariette, it is not sur-



prising that Jombert's publication of 1752 appeared under the same title as Mariette's but with Blondel now named as the author, having augmented the new edition by his comments and descriptions.

Blondel's remark seems thus far to have escaped the attention of all art historians. Louis Hauteceur attempts in his introduction to the 1927 reprint of the Mariette to trace its genesis.<sup>1</sup> But unacquainted with Blondel's *Discours*, he ignores the most important fact of the history of the *Architecture française* of 1727—Blondel's part in its execution. Only recently, in 1945, A. Mauban brought out a valuable book on Mariette,<sup>2</sup> listing all the engravings of the three volumes of 1727, the reedition of the Grand Marot considered to be Mariette's fourth volume, as well as the fifth volume published in 1738. Mauban adds instructive notes, paying particular attention to the changes the buildings underwent in the course of time, and especially to the exact locations of no longer extant structures. The quotations from sources dealing with the different designs will be welcome to all who care about old Paris. But there is no mention of Blondel's contribution to the Mariette.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Mariette, *L'Architecture française*, reprint of the original edition of 1727, ed. Louis Hauteceur, Paris and Brussels, 1927, 3 vols.

<sup>2</sup> A. Mauban, *L'Architecture française de Jean Mariette*, Paris, 1945.

Mme. Jeanne Lejeaux, to whom we are indebted for several essays on Jacques-François Blondel, names him as the author of some plates of the Mariette ("un certain nombre de gravures," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LII, p. 225). This view seems to be based on the signatures of the engravings concerned. Of the 562 plates reproduced in the 1927 reedition of the Mariette, three only give Blondel as the engraver, and seven give F., or Fr., Blondel. The latter, probably, were made by François Blondel the younger. Those signed simply Blondel might be by Jacques-François, but we believe that these, too, were engraved by François. Jacques-François declares himself, in the *Discours*, to have been both the engraver and the designer, and he would hardly have contented himself with appearing as only the engraver in the prints. We must also exclude his authorship in the case of the some forty plates bearing the names of other engravers such as P. Lepautre, (Antoine) Hérisset, C. Lucas, or other designers such as Delamonce, J. M. Chevotet, P. C. Prevostel, Pineau. Yet, as there is no reason to doubt the statement in the *Discours*, we should regard Jacques-François Blondel as the author of the vast majority of the plates in the *Architecture française* of 1727.

NEW YORK CITY



## BOOK REVIEWS

CARLO ANTI, *Teatri greci arcaici; da Minosse a Pericle* (Monografie di Archeologia, Collezione diretta da Carlo Anti, 1), Padua, "Le Tre Venezie," 1947. 337 pages, 8 plates (including 5 reconstructions by I. Gismondi), and 81 text figures. 3,000 lire.

Greek drama and comedy were written to be seen, not to be read. It is important, therefore, to know something about the theater arts of their time. The places of performance are older than the preserved dramas; on the other hand, the monumental development of the theater buildings is later than the dramas. Neither is any play written in the archaic period, i.e. the sixth century, preserved nor any stone of a background building from that formative period. Yet the development of the building is as fascinating as that of the drama. It is, therefore, to be appreciated that Carlo Anti, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Padua, has set himself the difficult task of tracing the development of the auditorium, that is, the theater (in Greek, "the place for seeing"), in a narrower sense, without neglecting the orchestra, the dancing place or place for action, and the background (*skene*, scene), for these plays. As the subtitle implies, he begins with the prehistoric period and ends with the Periclean age, extending this period, however, with the discussion of the comedies of Aristophanes (chap. VIII) not only through the Peloponnesian War but even into the early fourth century and, with the theater of Epidaurus (figs. 1 and 81), into the middle of the fourth century B.C. He also transgresses not only the chronological but the factual boundaries of his subject by giving (chap. VII) long discussions of the topography of the Agora, recently uncovered by the important American excavations, the results of which are not yet fully published. There certainly will be contradiction and opposition from the excavators.

I would like to follow Anti in his discussion of the Lenaion sanctuary, in the location of which he himself has followed Dörpfeld (pp. 202ff., figs. 61-63). His discussion of the plays of Aristophanes performed in this precinct, for example, the *Frogs*, near the marshy Dionysion in Limnais, that is, in the marshes (pp. 220ff.) seems to me important and convincing. I wish that Gismondi had made an illustration of such a performance, but his reconstruction of the Lenaion fifty years earlier (pl. v) may suffice.

The most important feature of this theater is the fact that the orchestra is not round, but square, and that the auditorium has straight seats at the slope of the Pnyx. This is the shape of the place of performance already found in the theatrical areas of Phaistos and Knossos during the Minoan civilization of the second millennium B.C. (Anti, pp. 27ff., figs. 2-4, pl. 1). Anti finds it in many archaic market places which have provisions for presentations, including Eleusis (fig. 9). On the other hand, he believes that the theater of

Dionysos Eleuthereus at Athens as well as the theater of Syracuse had a trapezoidal orchestra and theatron. In both cases his main evidence is the water channel which he believes to have been the boundary line between the two parts and which leaves the theater in a slanting direction (figs. 16-18 and 21, pls. II, III and VII). For the theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus, Anti mostly relies on the former investigations of Dörpfeld, *Das griechische Theater*, 1896, pp. 1ff., pls. I-V, and Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, 1935-36.

For Syracuse, Anti has used the careful monograph of E. Rizzo, *Il Teatro greco di Siracusa*, 1923. On the other hand, this is the only theater that Anti has investigated himself. A guide for visitors of the theater, *Teatro antico di Siracusa*, 1948, gives a survey of the long history of the site, beginning with the early Siculi and ending with the invasion of the Vandals and Goths, that is, a history of more than a millennium. Chapter III of the present book takes in only the first period, the time of the comic poet Epicharmus, and the second period, when Aeschylus' tragedies were presented and the architect Damokopos erected a theater which was regarded as the most beautiful in Sicily. For these periods, Anti has carefully investigated not only each stone (and stone is scarce), but also each trench and each hole cut into the rock. He has, in addition, discussed the literary and historical evidence for each period. His exactness cannot be doubted, but his interpretation and dating of the single points can. I find it impossible to follow his arguments as to the date of holes, which were originally much deeper and of which only the bottom part remains. Thus the "scenic trench" (*fossa scenica*) may already belong to this period instead of to the time of the phlyakes plays as has been assumed by Drerup (*Athenische Mitteilungen*, xxvi, 1901, pp. 1ff.) and Bulle (*Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, pp. 159ff.). It may need a covering which was part of a low wooden stage (*pedana*) having two or three steps leading up to it, as we know such stages from the phlyakes vases of the third century, and as has been reconstructed by Wirsing for Bulle (*op.cit.*, pl. 47, 3-4). But I do not think that it can be proved with certainty for the classical period.

Having discovered that some archaic theaters had a rectangular form, Anti, like the prophet of a new dogma, tries to find the same form everywhere, even in theaters like Eretria and Oiniadae (chap. IV) where there is neither a stone nor a hole to prove it. Small rustic Attic theaters like Thorikos, Icaria, and Rhamnus, he considers as venerable documents of this archaic rectangular form (chap. V). Telesteria, Ecclesiasteria, Odea, Buleuteria, down to the late fourth century Bouleuterion in Priene, he treats as documents of an absolute rectangular tradition (chap. VI).

He further concludes that the excavators of the Agora of Athens have not found the Odeion, the or-



chestra on the agora, where the Tyrannicides stood, and the Lenaion, where comedies were performed, because they looked for round instead of square orchestras (chap. VII). He believes that the agora was divided into (1) the free market which has been partially excavated by American scholars, but which also extended farther north into the inner Cerameicus, and (2) the archaic commercial market, which was farther south near the Areopagus and the Pnyx. He believes that, like an oriental bazaar, the commercial market extended alongside the street between these two hills (see his pl. VIII). He finds the orchestra where the street to the Piraeus deviates from this street in an irregular terrace (pp. 197ff., fig. 60), which seems doubtful to me. He finds the Lenaion before the main street reaches the Enneakrounos on the slope of the Pnyx. He follows Dörpfeld in the placement of this source with nine spouts installed by Peisistratos, while the American excavators place it farther north. This American "Enneakrounos" Dörpfeld and Anti identify with another fountain called salt spring (pp. 189f.). I agree with the latter, for the Lenaion theater was near the Dionysion in the marshes (*Dionysion en limnais*) and near the Enneakrounos. This sanctuary, however, has been located with certainty where the club house of the Bakchoi, the followers of Dionysos, was later built. The Lenaic agon had been recognized and organized by the state in 445, but it ended when the Theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus was finished by Lycurgus in the time of Alexander the Great, around 330 B.C. It certainly was built for the necessities of comedy. I believe this to be one of the reasons that the theater of Syracuse, used principally for the comedies of Epicharmus, was nearer in form to the theater of Dionysos Lenaion than to the theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus. It seems to me that the Lenaion precinct was later used for the initiation of brides into the Dionysiac mysteries, which took place in the Lenaion month shortly before the marriage was consummated between the Lenaion and Anthesterian months in the night of the dark moon (see Bieber, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, 1949, pp. 31ff.).

Anti's discovery (chap. IX) that the paraskenion theater, that is, the scene building with two side buildings, has its origin in the palaces of rulers, the *anaktora*, is excellent. Although there were no longer Greek tyrants in Greece when the foundations for the first stone theater were laid at Athens in about 420, they were still known in Asia minor. Thus Schefold has published the palace of Larissa (*Larissa on the Hermos*, I, 1940), built from 570 to 550, which shows two side towers connected by a porticus, a form which goes back to the broad house of the Hilani type used in the orient ever since the third millennium (Anti pp. 259ff., figs. 67, 70, pl. VI). While I had seen that this type had to do with the development of the Hellenistic skene (*History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, pp. 218f., figs. 307-310), I had failed to draw this ingenious consequence, that it is already the model of the paraskenion theater. Another of Anti's

good ideas is to compare the form of the *stoa basileios*, the home of the *archon basileios*, the heir to the religious power of the former rulers, (pp. 271ff., figs. 73-78) and the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia as well as the Propylaea of Mnesikles (figs. 79-80) as variations of the same architectural idea. He is also right when he uses for comparison fourth century vase paintings (figs. 68-69). I believe, however, that the much misused terracotta of Santangelo in Naples (fig. 66) has nothing to do with the Athenian theater. It agrees neither with the monumental remains of Athens nor with the vases. It agrees rather with the Assteas stage (Bieber, *op.cit.*, figs. 351-353); and the theaters of Tyndaris and Segesta (*ibid.*, figs. 338-339) are later monumental developments of this stage with an attic, which also reminds one of the *cenacula* in the upper stories of Pompeian houses. The reviewer regrets that she treated these theaters with the Hellenistic Greek theater. They belong in her chapter XIII, "The Development of the Roman Theater Building." The theater of Syracuse is related to these other Sicilian theaters, as Bulle (*op.cit.*, p. 154) saw.

Anti believes that originally the background was flat, and that the side buildings were not first tried out in wood, but were built directly in stone. He believes that the figures on the Iphigenia vase in Paris (fig. 68) play before such a flat background, and he reconstructs the skene in the theater built by Damokopos in Syracuse around 476 B.C. (pl. IV) with such a flat *scaena frons* in one straight line, although the form is taken from the Hilani palace with the two strongly protruding side turrets. The reason for this assumption is Anti's belief that the "fossa scenica" found in Syracuse must also have been used in Athens and that its purpose was to pull up poles with changing screens. There is a scenic trench in Syracuse, but in the opinion of Drerup, Bulle, and the reviewer it is later, belonging to the phylakes farces, and there certainly was no such trench in Athens. On the other hand I believe that Anti is right when he assumes the first background screens to have been painted on flat screens, but again I disagree that they were only fixed on poles in this trench. They require a wall to lean against, not merely holes in the ground. I see no reason to assume with Anti that decorative screens had already been set up before Agatharchus painted sets for Aeschylus and Sophokles around 460 B.C.

It is one of Anti's great merits that he tries hard to show how an artistic background was provided for the oldest presentations (chap. X). He finds evidence for the use of such a background very early, even in the theatrical area of Knossos (pl. I). For the comedies in the Lenaion, the outer wall of the sanctuary, later used as the rear wall of the stage building (pl. III), supplied such a background. The first man to put up a backdrop, consisting of a wooden skeleton with painted canvas and prepared "skins," probably parchment, was Phormis at Syracuse, in the time of Gelon I (485-478). In Athens at that time no background was provided in the theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus. The reason for this difference seems to me to be that in

Athens there were mostly choreographic actions, even in the tragedies of Aeschylus before 460, while in the Lenaion and in Syracuse chiefly comedies were performed. When Agatharchus painted scenes for the first time with a primitive perspective, these canvases were certainly preserved not in a trench but in the long corridor-like skene, therefore called skenothekē by Fiechter. The name is taken from Megalopolis, where a side building of about 260 B.C. for the *scaena ductilis* was thus named.

Anti is right in his four main conclusions (pp. 311ff.): (1) Until the end of the fifth century the Greeks used rectangular, not rounded, auditoria. (2) In the older period the Lenaion theater on the slope of the Pnyx was just as important as the theater of Dionysos Eleuthereus on the slope of the Acropolis. (3) There is continuity from the prehellenic Crete to the classical Greece. (4) Greek art, and thus also the theater, proceeded from a great variety of forms to canonic abstract forms, using all kinds of prehellenic, oriental, and even nordic elements, but then creating its own form of the rounded theatron, rounded orchestra and paraskenion theater, perfect in regard to acoustic as well as to optic considerations and in agreement with the perfected drama.

These results will stand, even if one does not believe in the scenic trench and the "pedana," the large wooden podium used to cover this nonexistent trench; or whether one disagrees with dates or attributions such as giving to Polyclitus the Younger the invention of the rounded auditorium and to Mnesikles the paraskenion theater. Athens certainly had a rounded auditorium at least planned before Polyclitus, who perfected it, and Mnesikles was not in Athens in 420, when the foundation (not the whole stone building) was laid for the skene with paraskenia. The visual perception of the masterpieces of the fifth century has been much furthered by the broad investigations of Anti.

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GUIDO SCHÖNBERGER, ed., *The Drawings of Matthias Gothart Nithart called Grünewald*, New York, H. Bittner & Co., 1948. 59 pages, 36 plates; plus an Appendix of 2 pages and 8 plates. \$12.50.

Matthias Grünewald—for under this nickname he will probably continue to be known—is one of those great individualists whose achievement refuses to be absorbed in the stream of tradition. To quote Schönberger's own words: "He never had a school, he never had a real pupil; it even seems that he never had an

assistant." He had no "following" to speak of, nor did he enjoy continuous recognition after his death. After a short-lived resurrection in the seventeenth century, when "not a single man could be found who might be able to give account of Grünewald's activities even in a scanty memorandum or by word of mouth" (Sandrart), his memory faded once more; Franz Kugler, the leading German art historian of ca. 1840, mentions him only briefly as "a competent imitator of Dürer." It was not until the last decades of the nineteenth century that conscientious scholarship began to reemphasize his originality; and not until the beginning of the twentieth did the fervor of a period revolting against both rationalism and naturalism proclaim him one of the great.

Characteristically, this renewed interest in Grünewald was, and still is, more vivid in the United States than it was, or is, in England; it is significant that the only monograph in the English language, the *Grünewald* by Arthur Burkhard, was written by an American and published in Cambridge, Massachusetts. However, being a general study, this very satisfactory book could not do justice to all aspects of Grünewald's artistry. It is, therefore, with real gratitude that the English-speaking public, laymen and scholars alike, will greet Guido Schönberger's new edition of Grünewald's drawings.

The author assembles for the first time all the genuine drawings known at the present moment, thirty-six as against the thirty-three in M. J. Friedländer's authoritative *Die Zeichnungen von Matthias Grünewald* of 1927 (which, in addition, appeared as a semi-private publication and lacks a critical text). The drawings are reproduced in full-page collotypes as good as are normally made in this country,<sup>1</sup> and the well-printed<sup>2</sup> and very "handy" catalogue, followed by a list of doubtful or erroneous attributions and a selection of pertinent sources, is a model of a *catalogue raisonné*.

Thoroughly familiar with the existing literature (to which he himself has made valuable contributions) and supplementing it by much original research, Schönberger places the individual drawings in their proper perspective; he investigates their interrelation with each other and with paintings preserved or known through records; he pays due attention to iconography (especially important is the demonstration of a connection between the Berlin *Anti-Trinity*, No. 35, and Johannes de Indagine's *Introductiones in Physiognomiam*); and he establishes a chronological order which to this reviewer seems entirely convincing.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to this fastidious catalogue, there is an introduction which for all its brevity gives a well-rounded picture of Grünewald's human and artistic

<sup>1</sup> The illustrations of the Appendix, showing all pertinent collateral material, are in part less satisfactory. As this reviewer knows only too well from personal experience, the collotype process does not lend itself too willingly to reproductions at a greatly reduced scale, especially where paintings are concerned.

<sup>2</sup> Of errors worth mentioning, I noted only the misprint of "van Beuningen" into "van Benningen" under No. 29, and

the omission of a reference to "Friedländer No. 9" under No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The comparatively early dating of Grünewald's only signed drawing, the Oxford *Mater Dolorosa* (No. 26, dated by Schönberger in 1515-1516 rather than ca. 1520, but probably still somewhat earlier) is further supported by her physiognomical similarity with the *Mary Annunciate* in the Isenheim altarpiece.

personality; and a sensitive analysis of his drawing style rightly stresses the intimate connection between "style" and "technique" (with one exception, all his drawings are executed in soft chalk). Grünewald's evolution—the "manneristic" phase of Nos. 28-32 justly characterized as a mere "interlude"—appears in beautiful clarity, and new and welcome light is shed on his relation to Dürer. While this reviewer (with Schönberger's approval) had assumed such a relation to exist only in and shortly after 1508, Schönberger has made the surprising and important discovery that the *Male Nude Blowing a Trumpet* (No. 1, now correctly dated as early as 1503-1504 instead of ca. 1514 or even 1520) is dependent on Dürer's *Jabach altarpiece*. Conversely, Schönberger calls attention to the fact that Dürer's amazing charcoal drawing L. 231 (*Head of the Dead Christ*) of 1503 is "near the art of Grünewald in its extreme expressiveness as well as in its painterly technique." The inference is that the first contact between the two masters took place in 1502-1503 when Grünewald was working in Bindlach near Bamberg, not far from Nuremberg. I wholeheartedly accept this hypothesis. The very fact that Dürer quite suddenly discovered the possibilities of a soft drawing medium in 1503 may well be explained by the impact of Grünewald's chalk drawings; and there exists a similarity, too close to be accidental, between the two disputatious men, one fat, the other thin, in Dürer's woodcut B. 79 (*The Meeting of Joachim and Ann at the Golden Gate*) of 1504 and the analogous group in Grünewald's *Derision of Christ* of 1503, the very painting to which the *Trumpet Blower* probably belongs.

As to the objections expected from a conscientious reviewer, I have only three, one of them very minor:

(1) It does not seem necessary to connect the beautiful *Mary Annunciate* in Berlin (No. 28), so similar to the drawings for the Mainz altarpiece (Nos. 29-32), with a "painting between the Isenheim and Mainz altars which is now lost or was never executed" (italics mine). We know from Sandrart that the Mainz altarpiece, the central panel of which showed "the Virgin Mary in clouds while many saints attend on earth with extraordinary gracefulness," had "two wings painted within as well as without." The subjects of these wings are not specified in Sandrart's description; but since the Annunciation, preferably represented on the exterior of the wings, is an almost indispensable feature of an Our Lady's altar, we may safely assume that the Berlin drawing was made in preparation of the Mainz altarpiece itself.

(2) The Vienna drawing of a *Saint Standing* (No. 19) cannot in my opinion represent St. Paul. The facial type with pug nose and short beard is incompatible with St. Paul's accepted physiognomy, and the sword is not a two-handed executioner's sword displayed as an attribute (as in Grünewald's own *St. Catherine*, Schönberger, No. 31), but an ordinary

weapon forming part of the saint's apparel. Schönberger was quite close to the truth when he realized the similarity that exists between the drawing No. 19 and an engraving by the Upper Rhenish master H. L. (Appendix, No. 20). This engraving represents St. Peter, and so does, I think, the Grünewald drawing. That the facial type of the saint conforms to that of St. Peter rather than that of St. Paul cannot be questioned, and the sword, worn on the belt, may be accounted for by the Malchus episode—a somewhat unusual reference, to be sure, but not surprising in an artist whose iconography is no less individual than his style. The only feature which does not seem to agree with St. Peter (though it agrees even less with St. Paul) is the long shepherd's staff. However, what would be inexplicable under ordinary circumstances may be explained in the light of a specific situation.

On the face of it, a pastoral staff as a symbol of the *Pasce Oves* would seem to be a most natural attribute of St. Peter as Head of the Church and does, in fact, occur on several Early Christian sarcophagi. But it is true that it is never included in later representations. This fact, and the related fact that the Pope does not carry a crozier as do bishops and abbots, is traditionally explained by an old legend (accepted in the Diocese of Cologne up to our own day) according to which St. Peter had given away his pastoral staff during his lifetime. St. Maternus, Bishop of Treves, this legend says, was spreading the Gospels in Alsace when he was stricken ill and died in Ehl near Strassburg. His companions, Eucherius and Valerius, returned to Rome in despair. St. Peter, however, told them to go back to Alsace, entrusting to them his pastoral staff; and, touched with this staff, St. Maternus was promptly restored to life. But the staff remained in Germany, later to be divided between the Churches of Treves and Cologne.<sup>4</sup> About 1515, when the eyes of the faithful were still hopefully fixed on Rome, an artist as original as Grünewald, active in the Rhineland and in Alsace where the Maternus legend was cherished, may well have changed the conventional figure of St. Peter into a hortatory image combining the militancy of him who "smote the High Priest's servant" with the pastoral dignity of him to whom Christ had said: "Feed my sheep."

(3) The much-debated drawing No. 17 (Berlin) can hardly be connected with the Coronation of the Virgin. Schönberger is right in rejecting the two current interpretations of the principal figure as either the Angel Gabriel or one of the Three Magi; for, while the absence of wings precludes the first of these alternatives, the second is obviated by the fact that the billowing velvet mantle of the crowned and sceptered figure is carried by two angels. No earthly ruler can claim celestial page-boys, and the attribute of the globe or orb further confirms the assumption that the figure represents Christ. It is, however, hard to believe that this Christ is about to bestow the crown upon the Virgin Mary; not so much because the scene is laid in a

<sup>4</sup> F. von Sales Doyé, *Heilige und Selige der römisch-katholischen Kirche*, Leipzig, 1929, II, p. 158.



terrestrial environment (the setting of trees may be interpreted as symbolizing the Garden of Paradise) as because the regal figure is kneeling before what appears to be the dais of a throne. Even Grünewald could not have conceived of a Coronation with Christ on his knees instead of enthroned.<sup>5</sup> There is, so far as I know, only one person before whom Christ may kneel (setting aside, of course, the Washing of the Feet), viz., God the Father; and there are, so far as I know, only two contexts in which this is possible, viz., the Intercession and the so-called *Göttlicher Ratschluss* or *Ratschluss der Erlösung* (approximately to be translated as "Resolution of Redemption") where the Trinity takes counsel with itself as to the way of redeeming mankind, and Christ, the Word, offers himself to be made flesh.<sup>6</sup> Grünewald's drawing cannot have been intended for an Intercession, for in this case the Saviour would have to appear, not in the guise of the Eternal Christ but in the guise of the Christ Incarnate, showing his wounds to the Father as the Virgin Mary shows her breast to the Son. There is, however, no objection to connecting the drawing with the *Göttlicher Ratschluss*, a very infrequent theme but one which is apparently peculiar to west German art. If accepted, this hypothesis might also explain—apart from the serious, almost sorrowful expression of the attending angels—three further unusual features of Grünewald's composition. The beardless youthfulness of the figure would seem to indicate the Second Person prior to the Incarnation.<sup>7</sup> That the orb lies on the dais like a thing discarded may be accounted for by the assumption that the King of kings, offering himself as a sacrifice, proclaims his willingness to divest himself of the symbols of his power. And even the curious position of the crown, placed low upon the brow, not unlike the Crown of Thorns, may similarly announce the self-elected humiliation of the *Rex regum* about to "make Himself of no reputation and to take upon Him the form of a servant."

In gratifying contrast to those writers in whom Grünewald's strong wine tends to produce a kind of verbal intoxication, Schönberger has written, as Luther would say, a very "angenehm zu lesend Buch," modest yet resolute, not heated but aglow with sincere enthusiasm and understanding. The German critics found it difficult at first to accept Grünewald's identity with Mathis Gothart Nithart because they could not bear the thought of the great mystic having been, among other things, a hydraulic engineer; and when this identity could no longer be doubted they proclaimed

him a *uomo universale*. Schönberger writes: "The story of Grünewald's life . . . should not mislead us into seeing him as a parallel figure to Dürer or to Leonardo, a man very typical of the time, knowing much, doing more, a painter, an architect, an engineer, a courtier, a revolutionary. In reality, Master Mathis was a revolutionary painter only. The admirably comprehensive mind of Dürer approached everything, art and science, with the same earnestness and the same skill. It is in a way comforting to hear of the painter of the Isenheim altarpiece, that neither the chimney in Aschaffenburg, nor the fountain at Halle really did work."

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*The Institute for Advanced Study*

SAMUEL C. CHEW, *The Virtues Reconciled. An Iconographic(al) Study* (Decorations by Robert Langstadt), Toronto, The University of Toronto Press, 1947. 163 + xi pages, 18 plates. \$2.75.

It is fascinating, at least to the present reviewer, to see students from other fields "transgressing" into that of the history of art. Professor Chew, the well-known Bryn Mawr historian of English literature, has contributed substantially to our knowledge by doing precisely this in some of his previous work.<sup>1</sup>

*The Virtues Reconciled*, designated by its sub-title as an iconographic study, offers a challenge to the art historian. The set of four essays (the Alexander Lectures given at University College in the University of Toronto, 1945-1946) is concerned with the "verbal and visual imagery" that has grown out of the words of the eighty-fifth Psalm (Vulg., LXXXIV): "Mercy and Truth are met together, Justice and Peace have kissed each other." From this the allegorical thinking of high mediaeval exegesis distilled the noble theme of Truth and Justice tempered by Peace and Mercy, the happy result of which is an era of salvation, of redemption, of lactimellifluence.

In his second essay ("The Parliament of Heaven") Mr. Chew is concerned with the theme proper—a theme whose genesis and early development in literature had been traced before with diligence and authority by Hope Traver in a comparatively little-known Bryn Mawr dissertation.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Chew's book in a way takes over where Miss Traver left off by adding the art historical problem and by extending the scope of the investigation into post-mediaeval centuries. His first essay ("The Friendship of the Arts") is devoted to a discussion of Renaissance painting and writing, partic-

<sup>5</sup> Jean Fouquet's miniature in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, where Christ has temporarily left the throne of the Trinity in order to bestow the crown, is most exceptional if not unique. But even here Christ is represented standing with the Virgin kneeling before him.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. (St.) Beissel, "Étude iconographique," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, Ser. 4, XV, 1904, pp. 436ff. The miniature reproduced on page 443, fig. 5 (from the Arenberg Hours executed about 1435 for Catherine of Cleves), shows Christ kneeling before God the Father and the Holy Ghost, who are both

enthroned. The picture in the Deutsches Museum in Berlin, formerly ascribed to Conrad Witz, shows Christ standing, but with knees slightly bent not unlike the Angels in fifteenth century Annunciations.

<sup>7</sup> In the miniature quoted in note 6 (not known to me, however, in the original), Christ also appears to be beardless.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., "Time and Fortune," *A Journal of English Literary History*, VI, 1939, pp. 83-113.

<sup>2</sup> *The Four Daughters of God . . .*, Philadelphia, 1907.

ular stress being laid on Shakespeare's and Ben Jonson's indebtedness to the pictorial arts. Finally, essays three and four ("Truth and Justice" and "Mercy and Peace") deal with the rendering of the individual virtues in emblematic imagery and their manifold echoes in the English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The study as a whole suffers from its hybrid nature; it is obvious that Mr. Chew has been at pains to preserve in print the flavor of lectures—a decision that will be regretted by all those who turn to the book hoping to find more than mere scholarly entertainment. Undoubtedly we may put it down to this notion that Mr. Chew is oversparing with acknowledgment of indebtedness to his many sources. But there is no excuse for the fact that the all-important index ("Index of Abstractions") should be both incomplete and inconsistent, and consequently more of a hindrance than a help. However, the reader interested in the unexpected treasures that are hidden in the no-man's-land that lies between the various fields covered will take up this little volume to find here and there some valuable and striking elucidations of puzzling or hitherto misconstrued passages in English Renaissance literature; illumination that could not have come except through the author's keen awareness of representational sources of inspiration.

Mr. Chew, to mention a few of those points, argues convincingly (p. 13) in favor of a personification of Grief in the well-known "monument" in Viola's amatory parable in *Twelfth Night* so that the result would be the Shakespearean vision of a complementing pair of statues: Patience and Grief. Shylock, wielding scales and knife in the judicial scene, should be considered an echo of the traditional personification of Justice as it is found in the morality plays (pp. 47f.), only that Shakespeare substitutes the knife for Justice's sword, thereby adding acid to his commentary on Shylock as the embodiment of stern Justice. Mr. Chew gives us a very fine historical survey of one of the British regalia, the "curtana" (the truncated sword of Mercy which was featured as late as 1937 in the coronation ceremony of King George VI) (pp. 119ff.); with this in mind he is able to solve the hitherto unrecognized Chaucerian image of "Dame Pees . . . with a curteyn in hir hand." Peace, as is here suggested, does not try to shut the temple door with a curtain but is shown holding Mercy's emblem, the pointless sword. Richard II, dashing the mirror to the ground is, as Mr.

Chew demonstrates (p. 14), the embodiment of *both* Pride and Prudence, since both the virtue and the vice were known to have the looking glass as an emblem. John Donne's pertinent observation on the aspect of Pride might well be quoted here: "A glasse is not the lesse brittle, because a *Kings* face is represented in it; nor a King the lesse brittle, because *God* is represented in him. . . ." Finally, Mr. Chew's analysis of Falstaff who crowns himself with a cushion, thereby revealing himself not only as a personification of Luxuria but outright as the King of Lechers (p. 15), is impressive and once more teaches us how indispensable at times a knowledge of iconography will be to the historian of literature.

These are the highlights. For the rest Professor Chew's book preponderantly feeds on previous research, including his own. His summaries, except for such matters as pertain to his own narrower field, are on the whole neither accurate nor elucidating. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this: On pages 37ff. a number of corrections are required; the date of the *Midrash* in which the allegorical treatment of Reconciliation first appears is tenth, not eleventh century; the Christian allegory of the eighty-fifth Psalm sees its "primordium" in the twelfth, not in the eleventh century; Hugh of St. Victor, who seems to be the first to formulate the theme "christianiter," was, as Miss Traver points out, dependent on the midrashic source, which Mr. Chew denies without, however, giving us his reason. More recent research would lend further support to Miss Traver's assumption, for, as Beryl Smalley and other English scholars have shown, the Victorines were attentive listeners to their rabbinical colleagues.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere (p. 63) Mr. Chew states, "there is no traditional . . . connection between the meeting of the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth and the meeting of the four Virtues." Yet the Index of Christian Art at Princeton lists at least five examples prior to the twelfth century, "where," as William Burke informs me, "the Virgin and Elizabeth are shown in close embrace as illustrative of Psalm LXXXV. . . ." Mr. Chew furthermore seems to wish to imply (p. 60) that the miniature in the Lambeth Palace Bible (twelfth century) more or less stands at the beginning of the series of representations of the personified Virtues. As Dr. Katzenellenbogen has pointed out, the earliest representation extant occurs in the ninth century, in the Utrecht Psalter,<sup>5</sup> and at least two further, independent, representations antedate the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, VIII, ed. John Heyward, London, 1936, p. 519.

<sup>4</sup> Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages . . .*, Oxford, 1941, chaps. III, II, and IV, IV, especially p. 126. Was it perhaps, we are tempted to ask, Hugh's inner affinity, rooted in the awareness of this "meeting together" of the Old Testament and the New in his own scholarly and human experience, that led him to the theme of the eighty-fifth Psalm?

<sup>5</sup> I am greatly indebted to Dr. Burke for this information and for that contained in note 7. Photographs of these items are, unless otherwise indicated, on file at the Index: (1) Moscow, Mus., Historical, gr. 129. Chludoff Psalter, fol. 85r, 9th cent.; (2) Mount Athos, Mon, Pantokrator, 61. Psalter,

fol. 118v, second half 9th cent.; (3) Stuttgart, Lib., Landesbibl. 23. Psalter, fol. 100v, 9th-10th cent.; (4) Rome, Lib., Bibl. Vaticana, Barb. gr. 372. Psalter, fol. 140v, 11th cent.; (5) London, Mus., British, Add. 19352. Theodore Psalter, fol. 113v, 1066\*.

<sup>6</sup> Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*, London, 1939, pp. 40f.

<sup>7</sup> (1) Bamberg, Cathedral, Treasury. Vestment (rational; embroidery), 11th cent.; the four virtues personified are shown with the Psalm text inscribed; (2) Rome, Lib., Bibl. Vaticana, gr. 1927. Psalter, fol. 156r, 11th-12th cent. A photograph of this folio is in the Ms seminary of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.



Over and over again the reader will find himself left with unsolved problems on his hands and, what is worse, he will feel that the rich material inherent in the theme has not been tied together by a consistent historical vision. I am fully aware that in voicing such criticism I am dealing with imponderabilia, but again a few examples may help to substantiate my contention. It would have been interesting, for instance, to have Mr. Chew's view on why the English of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, admittedly abominable artists (p. 32 and *passim*),<sup>8</sup> produced such rich and diversified literature, literature that was partly inspired by that "bad" art. On the other hand, when Mr. Chew advances an historical theory, I feel that, more often than not, his outlook is extremely limited. This is the case when he tries to account for the predilection in early seventeenth century England for the reconciliation theme by hinting at James I's motto "Blessed are the Peacemakers" (p. 49). I suggest that it would have been advisable to study the King's proclaimed policy against the background of the "baroque," provided, of course, that we can agree to take baroque to denote a European "style" not only of the arts and letters but also of politics and ethics. In this light the opposing yet pacifiable virtues, as they appear all over the continent in innumerable eulogies, adhortations, apotheoses (in the dumb shows of the princely entrees as well as in permanent works of art) gathered about the "good" ruler, would be characteristic expressions of the "baroque" tendency to harmonize opposites.<sup>9</sup>

In the treatment of the individual virtues the same shortcomings make themselves felt. Interesting detail such as is provided, for example, in the discussion of Mercy (p. 101ff.) suffers from the author's disregard

of historical data.<sup>10</sup> No discussion of Mercy is complete, it seems to me, without at least a hint at her greatest single act, her plea, in the guise of the Virgin Mary, for leniency for sinful mankind, when, on the occasion of the Last Judgment, the Mother shows her breasts to her Son who, in turn, shows his side wound to the Father.<sup>11</sup>

Smaller points might also have warranted closer investigation. There is nothing original in Shakespeare's use of the image of Fortune's "hill" (pp. 70ff.), for the abode of the Goddess had been canonized by Alanus de Insulis in his *Anticlaudianus*, a poem that was well known to English Renaissance writers; this twelfth century concept of Fortune's Cliff or Hill might have come to Shakespeare through a number of intermediate channels.<sup>12</sup> The Crane holding a stone with one foot, a symbol of Vigilance, "according to an ancient tradition" (p. 93), should have been tracked down to its literary source, Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*.<sup>13</sup> The Pelican feeding his young with his own blood while perched on Charity's head (p. 103) certainly occurs prior to Pieter Breughel the Elder.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, in Christian thinking the pelican is not in the first place a symbol of Charity but of Christ himself—"il nostro Pellicano," as Dante calls him. In several instances Mr. Chew touches upon what might be called the "Faustus" theme (especially pp. 115ff.); here I would add that the alternative to a commitment to Black Magic and the Devil, "honest Labor," is found for certain in the fifteenth century (in German literature) and is not, as Mr. Chew suggests (p. 116), a seventeenth century innovation. The sulphurous stench in Copley's *A Fig for Fortune* (p. 117), far from being

<sup>8</sup> There are, needless to say, quite beautiful things too, such as Renold Elstrack's frontispiece to Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, which Mr. Chew (p. 29), incomprehensibly, terms "heavy, clumsy and unattractive. . . ."

<sup>9</sup> For the earlier tradition of the ruler surrounded (or flanked) by virtues, see A. Katzenellenbogen, *op.cit.*, pp. 28 and 30; the most interesting example among these—moreover the earliest variation upon the theme of Virtues Reconciled—is that found in a hanging in the Treasury of Quedlinburg Church, dating around A.D. 1200, the second panel of which shows a crowned emperor to the left, Sacerdotium to the right, and between them Piety (*sic*) and Justice embracing; see p. 41, note 5; reproduced in Betty Kurth, *Deutsche Bildteppiche*, II, Vienna, 1926, pls. 13, 14. Cola di Rienzo refers to himself in the fateful year 1347 as *Nicolaus Severus et Clemens, libertatis pacis iusticieque Tribunus*; cf. Konrad Burdach, *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus . . .*, 2nd ed., Berlin-Leipzig, 1926, p. 10. For the baroque character in the related theme of the Prince tempering Strength with Wisdom, see W. S. Heckscher, "Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk," *THE ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, pp. 171ff.

<sup>10</sup> Where Mercy's seven (instead of the Biblical six) Works are discussed, mention should have been made that they were first introduced in the twelfth century; at least I know of no example earlier than that of the Galluspforte at Basel (about 1170).

<sup>11</sup> The Virgin's gesture—a classical motif—was first interpreted in the Christian sense in the twelfth century; see E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis" . . . , *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer* . . . , Leipzig, 1927, p. 281, with further bibliography. I should not be surprised if a faint and slightly

ludicrous echo of this type of intercession could be found in the Justice-Mercy-Wisdom scene in the *Merchant of Venice* (IV, i, 305f.), when Gratiano exclaims "I would she [referring to his wife] were in heauen, so she could Intreat some power to change this currish Iew. . . ." In the *Golden Legend* and elsewhere (*Acta Sanctorum* die quarta Aug.), the meeting between Saints Francis and Dominic is described as an embrace crowned by "oscula sancta" that takes place under the auspices of a heavenly intercession. Benozzo Gozzoli, among others, represented this meeting of the saintly leaders of the two antagonistic orders in the traditional form of the Visitation embrace. He showed the Virgin Mary in heaven warding off her Son's arrows by pointing to this scene of reconciliation. Benozzo's fresco in San Francesco at Montefalco bears the legend *QVANDO VIRGO OSTENDIT XPO BEATVM FRANCISCVM ET BEATVM DOMENICVM PRO REPARATIONE MVNDI*.

<sup>12</sup> Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum* (about 1170) already has an illustration that shows the cliff-sitting goddess turning her wheel.

<sup>13</sup> Book II, No. 94. After considerable popularity in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, the "hieroglyph" was canonized by Cesare Ripa, whom it had reached, no doubt, via Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*. There is, curiously enough, a second strand in the tradition of the vigilant crane: the conceit is found in classical antiquity (Pliny), taken up by the early Middle Ages (Isidore of Seville) and spread throughout the later Middle Ages through the bestiaries; cf. B. Knipping, *De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie . . .*, I, Hilversum, 1939, p. 34, note 5.

<sup>14</sup> See Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1908, fig. 159.



merely "grotesque," distinctly suggests to me the *dé-nouement* of the devil.

The first essay is devoted to an attempt, neither very convincing nor very relevant, to demonstrate that Shakespeare was sympathetically aware of the art of painting. Mr. Chew suggests, and here again we are indebted to him, that Giulio Romano's supposed statue of Hermione was introduced by Shakespeare (apart from its function to strengthen the plot) as a credit-line to Giulio Romano the limner (pp. 11f.). Mr. Chew hints at the narrower, obsolete, meaning of "perform" in the phrase "newly perform'd by that rare Italian Master *Iulio Romano*," who, thereby, is shown to be the one who *completes* the statue by giving it lifelike color.<sup>15</sup> We miss, among other references, one to Shakespeare's longest and most elaborate and at the same time most baffling treatment of Painting, that in *Lucrece*. Here Shakespeare in describing a "piece of skilful painting" representing the Siege of Troy did not only, it appears, have the famous passage from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid* in mind, but was possibly also familiar with engravings after Giulio Romano's Troy cycle in Mantua.<sup>16</sup>

Yet, even if for the sake of the argument we should assume it possible to establish a Shakespeare enamored of the fine arts and in particular of painting, we would have said next to nothing about his interest in emblems and hieroglyphics. The borderline between great art quoting emblems, and emblematics aspiring after the laurels of great art, cannot in every single case be drawn with confidence, but the distinction is valid in the majority of cases.<sup>17</sup> This important distinction is lacking in Mr. Chew's first chapter. He takes the "text," upon which he bases his lectures from Ben Jonson's *Discoveries* ("whosoever loves not *Picture* is injurious to Truth: and all the wisdom of Poetry," pp. 3 and 6f.). Jonson in this particular passage makes reference to exactly that department of painting which Professor Chew forswears for the course of his essays

(p. 4); for Ben Jonson reveals at the end of this discourse that he has the great Italian masters of the sixteenth century in mind.<sup>18</sup> As far as the influence of emblems and imprese and similar forms of pictorial condensation on Shakespeare is concerned, Professor Chew might have stressed what little direct evidence we have,<sup>19</sup> and, at the same time should not have failed to mention the fact that Ben Jonson, for one, not only consulted Cesare Ripa but gave explicit credit to his *Iconologia* for the design of certain allegorical figures.<sup>20</sup>

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CHARLES MORRIS, *Signs, Language and Behavior*, New York, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1946. 365 + xii pages. \$5.00.

This book attempts, in the words of the preface, "to develop a language in which to talk about signs, whether the signs be those of animals or men . . . whether they are signs in science or signs in art, technology, religion, or philosophy. . . ." Its main purpose is to make good the claim of behaviorism that it should be possible to describe all basic "sign processes" in "non-mentalistic" terms and that the way is therefore open toward a "unification of science" in which the cleavage between science and the humanities will be overcome. To this end the author carries out a detailed analysis of what he considers to be the basic modes of signifying and the basic uses to which signs can be put in order to prove that all the principal classes of signs and of discourse can be described "in terms descriptive of behavioral processes" (p. 60). In eight chapters with copious notes on technical points, a glossary, a historical appendix, and an extensive bibliography, Mr. Morris hopes to lay the foundations for a comprehensive science of signs of the future which he proposes to

<sup>15</sup> I would add, however, that since this operation took "many yeeres in doing," Shakespeare probably regarded Giulio Romano as both a painter and a sculptor; it has been pointed out before that no lesser authority than Vasari may have given weight to such a view; cf. *The Winter's Tale* (A New Variorum Ed.), Philadelphia, 1926, 7th ed., note to lines 96f. on p. 285.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gregor Sarrazin, "Neue italienische Skizzen zu Shakespeare," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, xxxvi, 1900, pp. 105-108. That numerous prints after Giulio Romano's compositions were found in France and Flanders, we may gather from a remark in Vasari's *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, v, p. 551. What was *en vogue* on the continent around the middle of the sixteenth century often became the fashion in the British Isles from about 1580 onward.

<sup>17</sup> For obvious examples of such undeniable difference I would cite, on the one hand, Isotta's tomb in the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini and, on the other, Michelangelo's Tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici.

<sup>18</sup> Ben Jonson enumerates the following seven: Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian, Correggio, Sebastiano del Piombo, Giulio Romano, and Andrea del Sarto; see *Timber: or, Discoveries . . .*, London, 1641, ed. C. H. Herford Percy and Evelyn Simpson, VIII, Oxford, 1947, p. 112.

<sup>19</sup> Some material on Shakespeare's knowledge of trade-marks

is found in Arthur H. R. Fairchild's "Shakespeare and the Arts of Design," *The University of Missouri Studies*, xii, 1937, pp. 150-153. To this might be added Shakespeare's public advertisement for the "Elephant" (and Castle) in *Twelfth Night*, III, iii, 43, and, in *ibidem*, III, ii, 78, the graphic description of the "new Mappe, with the augmentations of the Indies." Shakespeare knew the kind of distorted projections, the so-called anamorphoses, which he and his contemporaries referred to as "perspectiues"; thus *Twelfth Night*, v, i, 230 ("A naturall Perspective, that is, and is not . . ."); also see *Richard II*, II, ii, 18. Mr. Chew thinks that Shakespeare and others in his day were "too much attracted by the mere dexterity of craftsmanship" (p. 10)—meaning, I take it, the extra-aesthetic realm of art. I believe that, on the contrary, we have paid too little attention to the important province of anamorphoses and *capricci*, epigrams and metaphors, hieroglyphs and emblems, as expressions of the manneristic mind that liked to compress and distort, and thereby skillfully conceal from common knowledge objects as well as the conceits for which those objects stand; cf. Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, I, London, 1939, pp. 14 and 200, and E. Panofsky, "Idea" . . . , Leipzig, Berlin, 1924, note 238.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Erna Mandowsky, *Untersuchungen zur Iconologie des Cesare Ripa* (Diss.), Hamburg, 1934, p. 107.

call *semiotic*. It should embrace *semantics* or the study of significations, *syntactics* or the study of the mutual relation of signs, and *pragmatics* or the study of the origin, use, and effect of signs.

Two issues raised by this book are of vital concern to the historian of art. The program "to push semiotic as rapidly as possible in the direction of a natural science" (p. 8) closely affects the history of art as a branch of the humanities. The section "Are the Arts Languages?" (pp. 192-196) provides us with a sample of scientific semiotic at work.

Mr. Morris proposes to introduce a distinction between the *humanities* as a name for various types of discourse such as literature, art, morality and religion, and "*humanistics*," the "metalanguage" in which we discuss this discourse (p. 230). His proposal is based on the distinction, which has proved so fruitful in modern logic, between the "metalanguage" in which we talk about a system of signs and the "object language," this system itself. Mr. Morris is at pains to show that such a distinction, far from lowering the status of the humanities, would really help to establish it more firmly, because a developed "humanistics" would be able to demonstrate the reasons why the types of discourse usually called humanities are of such importance to the individual and to society. It is the terminology of "humanistics" which the author proposes to construct out of terms descriptive of the behavior of organisms; in other words, of terms formulable in biological concepts which, it is hoped, might be formulable in their turn in terms descriptive of physical events. Once that has happened "nothing prevents the formulation of laws concerning its subject matter whose relation to the laws of other branches of science can then be investigated" (p. 233).

It is fortunately not necessary for the discussion of this program to reopen the whole controversy of behaviorism versus "mentalism." Mr. Morris is far from denying the value of descriptive studies of signs in "mentalistic" terms, and most "mentalists" (if they accept this label) may be ready to grant the possibility that behaviorism may one day make an important contribution to our knowledge of certain sign processes. But if the behaviorist urges "humanistics" to commit its whole terminology to a behaviorally grounded science of signs, the onus is on him to prove that such a science is not only desirable but also possible. This, in fact, is the central theme of Mr. Morris' book. He admits from the outset "that we are certainly not at present able to analyze in precise behavioral terms the more complex phenomena of aesthetic, religious, political, or mathematical signs, or even the common language of our daily existence" (p. 11). He does not even assert that such terms as "consciousness," "thought," or "ideas" in which we usually describe these phenomena are "meaningless" (p. 28). His contention is merely that such terms are "scientifically irrelevant," as any statement about them cannot be subjected to empirical tests. His position is, therefore, that if we want to have scientific statements about the humanities they must be grounded on an "empirical

science of signs" or they will not be scientific. Having arrived at this conclusion he is doubly anxious to prove that his program is capable of fulfillment. But the way he chooses to furnish this proof may conflict with the very standards of empirical tests which the book is designed to uphold.

The author mentions the "characteristic dogmatism of most philosophies with respect to other philosophies in their culture . . . their tendencies to claim as knowledge what is only belief" (p. 236). It can hardly have escaped him that this description also applies to his own outlook. More than once in the book we find him so eager to anticipate the results of a "scientific semiotic" that he presents us with hypothetical experiments in which hypothetical dogs respond to certain sign combinations as Mr. Morris postulates. There is admittedly a place for imaginary experiments in the exposition of terms, but those of Mr. Morris are not only used for exemplification but affect the whole argument of his book.

He uses this type of construction to build a precarious bridge across the formidable abyss which to most philosophers of language seemed to separate the signaling systems of animals from the developed language of human society in which statements can be made. Language, as we learn from logicians, owes this distinctive capacity mainly to inconspicuous signs like "and," "or," "all," "not," the type of signs, in fact, which occur in the syllogism and which have come to be known as "logical" or "formative" words. In his treatment of what—with great fairness to the reader—he admits to be "the most debatable issues in the field of the science of signs" (p. 153) Mr. Morris wants to prove that these distinctive signs of language can, in fact, be described in behavioral terms. As the linchpin, then, of his whole argument that an "empirical science" of semiotic is possible, we are presented with an elaborate description of an experiment (pp. 156f.) in which a dog is to respond to a sign signifying "alternativity" (or the equivalent of the English word "or"). The author does not claim that such an experiment has ever been carried out. But even if it had taken place in the form described, it is doubtful whether logicians would admit that the meaning of "alternativity" had thereby been translated into behavioral terms. For that to succeed, Mr. Morris would have to show that the sign concerned had become to the dog—in the author's terminology—"plurisituational," that the dog recognized its signification in new contexts and even in combination with signs he did not know (as we would if Humpty Dumpty told us that "the slithy toves did gyre or gimble in the wabe"). But is the introduction of such a fictitious dog not altogether an example of the tendency "to claim as knowledge what is only belief"? The semiotic terminology of some two thousand years from Plato and Aristotle on was partly vitiated by the introduction of "higher intellects" who could enjoy the "direct intuition" of Ideas or Essences. Is the terminology of the next period to be burdened with the belief in the existence of some equally hypothetical "lower intellects"? There is no reason to despair of

the ultimate solution of the crucial problem of historical semiotic, the origin of language. In fact the recent book by Geza Révész, *Ursprung und Vorgeschichte der Sprache*, Berne, 1946—not yet known to Mr. Morris when he wrote his book—seems to offer ground for hope, but if we are to have empiricism in semiotic let it at least be empirical empiricism.

Will the humanities, then, have to remain unscientific till these and possibly similar fissures in Mr. Morris' edifice are repaired? And what if they prove irreparable? Are we then to be thrown back into irrationalism for good and all? It would not be the first time that the failure of a scientific theory to live up to its (unscientific) promise did grave harm to the credit of the scientific attitude. If we accept Mr. Morris' conception of what constitutes scientific "humanistics," this danger seems to me very real. But it also seems to me that the implication of his book that "humanistics" can only be scientific if its basic terms are formulable in terms of the natural sciences rests on a very one-sided conception of what science does or can do. Even physics, after all, was a science long before its basic terms were scientifically defined—if indeed they are so defined now. The demand raised by Mr. Morris that the statements occurring in "humanistics" must be capable of objective tests is certainly of utmost methodological importance. Only a hypothesis which can be tested deserves to be called scientific. I would maintain, however, that a large body of such tested hypotheses does exist in what might be called the practical semiotic of the past. These hypotheses, it is true, are not of the same generality as those we meet with in the natural sciences. They do not concern "laws" as to the "nature of signs" but theories about the meaning of particular signs.<sup>1</sup> Such hypotheses we call, of course, interpretations, and these interpretations not only *can* be tested but often *have* been tested by standards which apply to the natural sciences and the humanities alike. The intelligence officer who "interprets" an aerial photograph deals with "natural signs." He knows what shade of gray corresponds to what intensity of light and he is able on the ground of that knowledge to formulate a testable hypothesis about the objects denoted on the photograph. The same officer decoding a message deals with symbols. But here, too, his interpretation is based on the knowledge of certain rules of translation that allow him to formulate a hypothesis which he may be able to test by various means. It would hardly occur to him that by changing from one activity to the other he passes from scientific to unscientific procedure because he cannot express the modes of signifying of his message in biological terms. The methods and thought processes are the same, but the theories to which they refer are of more general validity in the first case (photoelectric laws) and of more limited validity in the other (the code). What may be different is the direction of his interest. He may refer to a known code to find out the meaning of the message, or he may

collect messages to get at the code. In the first case his procedure is that of the technician who applies existing knowledge; in the second, that of the scientist who tries to arrive at new hypotheses.

The same, I suggest, holds good for the method of interpretation in the humanities. Some time ago in these pages (March 1941) Mr. Millard Meiss interpreted certain signs on a painting by Piero della Francesca as signifying an Augustinian saint. His knowledge of this class of monuments and of the documents about the artist enabled him to formulate the hypothesis that the altarpiece in question must also have contained the figure of St. Augustine. The "prediction," it will be remembered, was verified by Sir Kenneth Clark (*Burlington Magazine*, August 1947), who found the missing fragment in Portugal. The fact that it fits into the gap can be proved by the measurements. This jigsaw puzzle test (as one might call it) must surely satisfy any scientific standards. In this case the historian's interest lay in the direction of a singular fact; he applied his knowledge of a certain class of signs (iconography) to a particular work. Admittedly the fragmentary preservation of the historian's material does not often permit such a neat testing of this type of hypothesis. But this difficulty concerns the methods of historical research rather than that of applied semiotic. Where material is abundant and the direction of interest reversed (toward hypotheses of more universal validity), the semiotician can in fact test his interpretations to a degree comparable to that of the natural scientist. Such triumphs of semiotic as the deciphering of hieroglyphs or cuneiform scripts have resulted in knowledge which is as scientifically grounded as that of the chemical properties of certain elements, and that for the same reason—the material for testing our "readings" is practically unlimited. It is comforting to think that these results were obtainable without appeal to the fundamental issues of behaviorism versus "mentalism."

The problem of scientific statements in the humanities (or "humanistics") and the criterion by which they can be tested may therefore turn less on a behavioral classification of signs than on a general methodology of interpretational procedures. Such a methodology would have to clarify the difference between the observation of responses to signs, the classificatory description of signs, and the translation of signs into other signs. Mr. Morris' book is mainly concerned with these first two questions but the third, a general theory of translation, may well prove indispensable for the development of a scientific semiotic. As we can only talk about signs in terms of other signs, we come up against the problem of the interchangeability of signs whenever we try to formulate what a sign we discuss in the humanities "says." The analogy with the metalanguage in logic breaks down at this point. The logical investigation of an inference is not concerned with its content but exclusively with its form. In the history of art we must discuss the "meaning" of signs

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. R. Popper, "The Poverty of Historicism," *Economica*, May and August 1944, May 1945.



(whatever that may mean) in discursive speech. We are in fact not only observing responses and classifying signs but we are forced to probe into the possibility of their translation. Mr. Morris' approach to the arts as a type of language poses this problem with increased urgency, for it seems a criterion of a language that it is (at least to a limited extent) translatable into another language. But Mr. Morris' treatment of the signs in art gives us little guidance in this matter.

The author argues against Susanne K. Langer's *Philosophy in a New Key* that "the case for the linguistic character of music and painting can be maintained with some plausibility if the iconic sign is made central (though not all-sufficient) in the analysis" (p. 193). An "iconic sign"—it may be remembered from the author's earlier writings—"is any sign which is similar in some respects to what it denotes. Iconicity is thus a matter of degree" (p. 191). "In the case of 'realistic' painting and 'program' music . . . it seems clear that recognizable objects . . . furnish a vocabulary of signs which are then combined 'grammatically' in various ways according to the style of a particular school or artist. It is true that such icons may become very general, as in the case of the 'formal' or 'auto-morphic' kinds of painting and music, but generality of signification is not the absence of signification" (p. 193).

The question is hardly quite as simple as the author would wish it to be. It is just the point that the "recognizable objects" are translatable signs. Van Gogh's chair represents a chair. But we are all agreed that the picture, apart from denoting an object, also "says" something else, and that this something (the aesthetic aspect) is less easily (if at all) translatable into words. Now a Kandinski does not represent something "more general" than a chair (if the term "generality" is accepted in its usual meaning); it simply omits the translatable sign and "says" what it says with other signs. We usually speak of "expression" in this context but Mr. Morris rightly reminds us of the "disastrous" confusion surrounding this word (p. 69) "since any sign whatsoever may be expressive" (p. 68). In fact it is not only the way in which Van Gogh paints a chair which is "expressive" of his personality but also his decision to make a chair the subject of his painting or, for that matter, any other document of his life, letter or laundry bill, if we are only able to interpret its expressive significance. But this wholesome warning against an unprecise usage of one of the favorite terms of modern aesthetics cannot absolve us from the problem of describing the difference between Van Gogh and Kandinski, between representational and non-representational art. Mr. Morris' example of what he means by "generality of signification" is hardly very happily chosen. He tells us that he asked several persons what Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* might signify. He lists a number of answers he received, such as "a herd of wild elephants in panic, a Dionysian orgy, . . . dinosaurs in conflict" (p. 193) and notes with satisfaction that all the images had something in common (a cynic might suggest that they all described

noisy events). None of Mr. Morris' subjects thought that the music denoted a quiet brook or lovers in the moonlight. The author concludes that the true signification of the music must be formulable as the common denominator of all answers received and lie in the direction of "primitive forces in elemental conflict."

The legitimacy of Mr. Morris' procedure in this instance is open to serious doubts on the grounds of method. He uses the result of his *enquête* to illustrate his theory that music denotes and may therefore be plausibly described as a language. But his subjects were asked something like a leading question. If Mr. Morris had asked them what a railway engine might possibly denote (and there are amusing parlor games on these lines), he would also have received a number of corresponding answers (no one, I presume, would have suggested a quiet brook) but this would hardly prove what railway engines do denote. Mr. Morris mixed the method of translation and that of response. His subjects responded to the music by translating it into imagery (faintly suggestive of Disney's *Fantasia*), and it was Mr. Morris who then "generalized" the signification into a more abstract concept. The way towards a scientific "humanistics" can hardly lie in this direction. It is certainly possible to translate one type of sign into another, music into imagery, painting into lyrical prose, poetry into music, and so on. A general theory of translation would have to specify what it is that is translated in these procedures. But these interpretations are certainly not scientific because there is no means of testing their validity. It is precisely this type of interpretation which we are striving to get away from in the humanities. If Pater's famous interpretation of the Mona Lisa had included the response of various of his friends or students it would not have become more "scientific"—only less artistic.

But Mr. Morris' discussion of interpretation is only incidental to the main argument of his section on art which aims at allocating to painting and music a place in his classification of types of discourse. Two chapters of the book are devoted to the theme that an analysis of basic sign behavior reveals four basic modes of signifying, together with four principal uses to which signs can be put. As each of the four principal types of sign ("designative," "appraisive," "prescriptive," and "formative") can be put to each of the four types of use ("informative," "valuative," "incitive," and "systemic"), Mr. Morris arrives at a kind of a priori classification of sixteen types of discourse which he tries to identify with such existing categories as scientific ("designative-informative"), religious ("prescriptive-incitive"), critical ("appraisive-systemic") or propagandistic ("prescriptive-systemic") discourse (p. 125). The author admits to a certain feeling of disappointment at the result of this analysis (p. 185). It remains to be seen whether linguists or literary critics will find them of greater practical use than I. A. Richards' simple division into emotive and referential signs which they are meant to supersede.

Mr. Morris' application of these behavioral classifications to signs in art does not go much into detail but

this is not the main reason for the disappointment it causes. An analysis of the limitations of the "iconic sign"—shades of Lessing!—leads him to the conclusion that "music and painting have shown themselves most indispensable for appraisive valuative discourse, since they can embody vividly and concretely in their icons the very characteristics of the objects which in their appraisive capacity they signify as valuata" (p. 195). If Mr. Morris rereads the page on which this argument occurs he will perhaps agree that the words he uses in this connection seem less suited to characterize the proverbial apples by Cézanne than a colored advertisement for apples in which indeed "an object can be presented for inspection which itself is prized and which iconically embodies the very characteristics of a goal-object concerning which the aim is to induce valuation." Such icons may even cause some of us to "salivate" in the most orthodox manner but they are hardly the type of sign we usually associate with art.

Perhaps it is not quite fair, however, for the art historian to blame the semiotician if he has failed to provide him with the tools necessary for the discussion of signs in art. While linguistics has collaborated with semantics for many years to elucidate problems of mutual interest the history of art has done little so far to prepare the ground for such studies. The distinction between poetry and language has always been accepted as natural; the distinction between art and imagery is only gradually becoming familiar.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Morris himself stresses the need for more descriptive studies on visual signs (p. 190). It is all the more a pity that he does not seem to have taken cognizance of the emerging discipline of iconology, which must ultimately do for the image what linguistics has done for the word. In Mr. Morris' bibliography of more than thirty pages we find only two items on pictorial art; one is Loran's book on Cézanne's compositions, the other Wölfflin's *Grundbegriffe*. The works of such pioneers in the study of the symbolic aspect of the image as A. Warburg and E. Panofsky are absent.

It will remain for a general iconology to clarify the relations between image and language which Mr. Morris has raised. Mr. Morris hardly distinguishes sufficiently clearly between the question of the linguistic character of "art" and that of the visual sign. His statements on this question are unusually vague and hesitant. We hear (p. 194) that the arts may "at least approximate the formative ascriptors of speech and writing" but (p. 195) that "formators are clumsily handled in other media than speech or writing." But are there any "formators" corresponding to "logical words" in the language of the image? Lessing noticed almost two hundred years ago that negation cannot be expressed through the image. What are the formators which the image can "approximate"? The question may be formulated in this way: Are there images equivalent to verbal statements? That such images are possible in what Mr. Morris calls in a useful term "post language symbols" is not in dispute. Writing

would never have been invented were it not for the capacity of images to replace words. But what of the image unaided by words or a fixed code of equivalences between words and images? The likelihood that such an image can be equivalent to a statement and contain "formators" is a priori small, for if it did, something corresponding to the process of inference must be possible between images, as it is between statements. The question certainly deserves renewed analysis. Mr. Morris quotes with approval a remark by Peirce that "a portrait of a person together with the name of a person . . . is no less a statement than the verbal description of the person" (p. 194). The historian of art knows surely that even this problem of the aided image is more complex than that. If he sees the image of a man with the name "Hans Memling" written under it, he usually infers that the picture and the name do not add up to the type of statement to which Peirce referred. It is true that in other instances we are equally confident that the name identifies the sitter but this only emphasizes the information we receive through contextual aids. Karl Buehler has shown how the verbal statement gradually emancipated itself from its situational ("sympractic") context. The image has not traveled far along that road. A name and an image do not add up to a statement. The name must first be expanded into the statement: "The above image is the portrait of X" to fulfill the condition Peirce had in mind. But even in that amended form the statement is far from unambiguous. We know that what functions as a portrait in one civilization may not be regarded as one in another. The mediaeval images of kings and rulers, or the "altered portraits" of popular broadsheets, are not, as we know, equivalent to the verbal description of the person. They are highly generalized types or *similes*, and yet they are used to denote a particular individual. Conversely a highly individualized image of a person, in fact a portrait photograph, need not be used to denote the individual it "represents." It can be used in a generalized way to signify a fictitious hero or a social type—as any realistic Quattrocento saint or any poster showing the photograph of a benign butler offering a flask of whisky will testify. The fact is that the image unaided (because of the absence of such formators as definite and indefinite articles) is unable to signify the distinction between the universal and the particular. We cannot tell whether an image represents "a horse" or a particular horse; any image in fact can be made to function either way. The attempt of classicist aesthetics to identify the "generalized" or "idealized" image with the "abstract" or "universal" is interesting mainly as an example of mistaken semiotic analysis. Looking back to Mr. Morris' use of the term "generality of signification" in relation to art one might sense the danger of a similar confusion. It is the danger that a diminishing "degree of iconicity" might be identified with increasing generality of signification.

If the concept of the iconic sign is to carry us be-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. de Waal's inaugural lecture at Leiden University, *Traditie en Bezieling*, Rotterdam, Antwerp, 1946.

yond the restatement of a mimetic theory of art it will have to be subjected to a very close analysis. Linguists have shown that "iconic" (onomatopoeic) words are not "imitations" of certain sounds, but approximations of the sound, built out of the available "phonemes" of a given language. Iconology may be able to demonstrate that an image that passes as highly iconic of reality is really less directly related to the object it denotes than it would at first appear. It, too, is built out of some primary noniconic shapes. We may find that it is these elements out of which icons are built, rather than the way in which they are then combined, which determine the "style" of a school or period. Mr. Morris' remark that "the extent of . . . iconicity is a difficult matter to determine" (p. 191) points to another weakness in his conception of a continuum from highly iconic to noniconic signs. Perhaps there is hardly an image which is purely iconic. We are always confronted with an admixture of "post language symbols." The analysis of primitive art and of child art has made us familiar with the role which the "conceptual sign" plays in these styles. Its link with the linguistic faculty (drawing is enumeration of characteristics) is known. Does the decrease of the conceptual (and conventional) image in art mark an increase in "iconicity"? Is the primitive manikin, complete with ten fingers and toes, less iconic than the patch of color which may denote a gondolier on one of Guardi's paintings? Here again many difficulties may be avoided by concentrating less on a morphological classification of signs than on an analysis of their interpretation. Guardi relies on the beholder's capacity to read "iconicity" into his sign. The contextual, emotional, or formal means by which this type of interpretation is evoked or facilitated—in other words, the relation between objective "iconicity" and psychological projection—would have to form one of the main fields of study of a descriptive semiotic of the image. Perhaps it will show that what has been called the history of "seeing" is really the history of a learn-

ing process through which a socially coherent public was trained by the artist to respond in a given manner to certain abbreviated signs.

Once the beholder's attitude rather than the objective structure of the sign is moved into the focus of attention, even more problems relating to the concept of "iconicity" will probably arise. Is God the Father in an altar painting, or Justice in a courtroom, to be regarded as an iconic sign (of God or Justice) or as a post-language symbol, a mere substitute for a written word? The answer clearly depends on the attitude and beliefs of the beholder. It even seems that certain classes of religious and allegorical imagery derive their appeal from the very fact that their "degree of iconicity" remains indeterminate. They are neither regarded as mere ideograms of rational concepts nor as iconic representations of a visible reality but rather as the visual embodiments of a suprasensible entity.<sup>3</sup>

There is no end to the list of problems which the semiotic approach to art and imagery may raise. It is in this fact rather than in the specific methods he advocates with such power of conviction that I see the principal value to the art historian of Mr. Morris' book. In the excellent concluding pages of his book the author shows himself fully aware of the fact that his account "bristles with problems; it sketches a program more than it records an achievement" (p. 246). "As the descriptive and logical aspects of semiotic expand, with mutual influence of each on the other, semiotic will become more a science and less a program" (p. 248). Whether this "science of signs" which "is both on its way and yet has very far to go" (p. 246) will ultimately conform to the program so persuasively drawn up for it by Mr. Morris is perhaps only of secondary importance. Every one will agree, however, that "the application of semiotic will further the growth of semiotic as a science." The history of art and aesthetics can still make a contribution to this end.

E. H. GOMBRICH  
The Warburg Institute,  
University of London

<sup>3</sup> I have discussed one aspect of this question in "Icones Symbolicae," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI, 1948.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

The "Flabellum," a beautiful metal disc, is described as "one of the most spectacular of liturgical objects; similar discs, often with cruciform decoration, have been used in the Western Church in early times" (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, May 1948, p. 240). They are still used in the rites of the Eastern Church "to keep away the small animals that fly about, that they may not come near the cups" during the celebration of the Mass. These words, quoted from the oldest source mentioning the liturgical fans (*Constitutiones Apostolicae*, VIII, 12) merely give a direction for use, but do in no way explain the true meaning of so "spectacular" an object. That it really becomes, if we assume that the "small animals," the flies, were meant to be demons, which, though seemingly insignificant, are the emissaries of the Evil One, sent to disturb the sacramental act by their "obscenity":

Hoc quoque flabellum . . . fugat et obscenas importunasque uolucres. . . . These are the words at the flabellum of Tournus (quoted from Eitner's publication), a nearly verbal transcription from the text of the *Constitutiones* as given above. Our assumption can be deduced from the fact that the Biblical "Baal Zebub" (II Reg. 1: 2) means "Master of the Flies," a sharply ironical expression, which, in return, in the New Testament became the very *nomen proprium* of the fiend (Matt. 10: 25). Thus, the gentle movement of the fans ornated with the sign of the Cross serves to keep away from the sacred Species and from the acting priest the messengers of the One, whom Paulus (Ephes. 6: 12) calls "ruler of the realm of the air"—ἀρχὸν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ αἵρος.

EDUARD STRAUSS  
New York University

SIR:

Professor Martin S. Soria, in publishing Sadeler's engraving of *A Vision of St. Hyacinth* and drawing attention to its use by El Greco,<sup>1</sup> might have carried the composition a stage further back by pointing out that the engraving follows with but slight variations an altarpiece by Lodovico Carracci<sup>2</sup> which was painted for San Domenico at Bologna in the year 1594.<sup>3</sup> We are thus provided with an interesting example of the transformation in a retrogressive sense by a great painter—

<sup>1</sup> THE ART BULLETIN, XXX, 1948, pp. 250f., and fig. 17 opp. p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Reproductions of the picture, which is now in the Louvre, will be found in: *Cronache d'arte*, I, 1924, p. 41; *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1928-29, pub. 1930, pl. XXII, fig. 27; Heinrich Bodmer, *Lodovico Carracci*, Burg bei Magdeburg, 1939, fig. 43. Malvasia had seen Sadeler's engraving and was aware that it represented this picture (Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice, Vite de' pittori bolognesi*, 1678, I, p. 400).

<sup>3</sup> For the date, cf. Aldo Foratti, *I Carracci nella teoria e nella pratica*, Città di Castello, 1913, p. 107, note 1; cf. also

belonging to the old-fashioned mannerist tradition—of a composition which originated as a manifestation of a new departure in artistic language, still struggling to find its feet.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the more obvious amendments of a manneristic character introduced by the Spanish painter (perhaps the baby is the most striking), it is instructive to note that the highly individual, almost portrait-like, appearance of Lodovico's Saint, to which attention was justifiably drawn by Professor Walter Friedlaender,<sup>5</sup> and which, with a very slight difference in the position of the head, is preserved by Sadeler, is of course entirely abandoned by El Greco.

DENIS MAHON  
London, England

SIR:

In my article "Some Flemish Sources of Baroque Painting in Spain," in the December 1948 issue of THE ART BULLETIN, I tried to demonstrate Zurbarán's indebtedness to Flemish art. He also derived motifs from German prints by Dürer, Beham, and the Master E. S. Dr. Otto Benesch called my attention to the fact that the Spanish artist used Dürer's woodcut *Birth of the Virgin* for a painting of the same subject in the collection of Count Contini-Bonacossi at Florence. Zurbarán availed himself of Dürer's figure of St. Anne, of the woman with the newborn Virgin, and of the woman at the lower left. He also repeated the arrangement of the figures in a sweeping oval. Another woodcut by Dürer, *Christ at Emmaus*, served for the important painting of this theme at the Academy of San Carlos, at Mexico City. As in the print, Christ is shown *en face*, the head inclined to the left, in the act of breaking the loaf of bread. The pilgrims, in profile and placed symmetrically at either side, are reduced in number from four to two. Parallel to the picture plane stands the table with its white table cloth. On it, various dishes are grouped in a still-life. The legs of the pilgrims form diagonals into which even the dog is made to fit. Marziale's painting at Berlin (see Van Marle, *Italian School of Paintings*, XVIII, p. 515) seems to link Dürer's print to a lost picture by Giovanni Bellini of which Zurbarán may have had indirect knowledge. For two *Madonnas*, one in Madrid, 1659, and the other at Bilbao, 1662, Angulo showed Zurbarán's indebtedness to Dürer's *Madonna with the Monkey*

Malvasia, *op.cit.*, 1678, I, p. 459.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Heinrich Bodmer (*op.cit.*, p. 49) selects the picture as "das erste Werk des Künstlers, bei welchem die Prinzipien der Barockmalerei völlig durchgeführt sind." In any case it belongs to that smallish group of early paintings by Lodovico which made such a notable contribution towards the development of the new baroque methods of expression.

<sup>5</sup> Walter Friedlaender, "Der antimanieristische Stil um 1590," *Vorträge*, cit. p. 236; cf. also Bodmer, *op.cit.*, p. 48: "prachtvoll stark und persönlich."

(see *Archivo español de arte*, 1944, no. 61, pp. 7-9).

While the writer considers it very probable that Zurbarán borrowed from prints by Salmon and by H. Cock after Floris for the Hercules series at the Prado, there can be no doubt whatsoever that the Spanish painter used motifs from three engravings by Beham. For *Hercules Lifting Antaeus* (Prado No. 1246) Zurbarán took from Beham the position of Hercules's arms and legs, as well as that of the right arm and leg of his opponent. In the picture of *Hercules Seared by the Poisoned Robe* (Prado No. 1250), the small figure of the mortally wounded centaur Nessus in the background is faithfully copied from the Beham print. Finally, in the *Fight of Hercules with the Nemean Lion* (Prado No. 1243) the pose of the hero's legs was suggested by Beham's print of *Hercules Fighting the Centaurs*. These minor borrowings in no way diminish the greatness of Zurbarán's Hercules series, one of the master's most original and successful creations. The writer is indebted to Mr. Carl Schniewind of the Art Institute of Chicago for having shown him reproductions of the Beham engravings, dated 1542-1545, and of other prints mentioned in this letter.

The *Death of St. Bonaventure* by Zurbarán, at the Louvre, is probably influenced by the *Ars Moriendi* series (about 1460) of the Master E. S. In the *Temptation by Doubt* (M. Geisberg, *Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E. S.*, Berlin, 1924, pl. 131), for instance, we find a diagonal bed, a figure kneeling at the foot end, a row of heads in back, and lower figures in the right foreground. The unusual diagonal position of the bier and the arrangement of the mourners make it

highly probable, although not entirely certain that Zurbarán knew the engraving.

The examples here given further emphasize the mediaeval spirit of Zurbarán's work. By choosing models a century old or older, the Spanish artist deliberately strengthened the archaic aspect of his imagery. He may have done so out of respectful admiration for the Renaissance, but he surely also felt an affinity for the late Gothic. Recognition of the continuing mediaevalism of Zurbarán's art would seem to furnish an essential key to an understanding of his style.

May I take this opportunity to correct an error in my article in the December issue (p. 258). The painting of the *Lord Treading the Winepress*, after a print by Jerome Wierix, is not by Santander but by Diego de Borgraf. It is in the small, otherwise empty, church of San Miguelito at Puebla, near a picture by Santander, and was reproduced in *Pinturas poblanas*, by José Luis Bello and Gustavo Ariza, Puebla, 1943, plate XI, p. 43.

MARTIN S. SORIA  
*Michigan State College*

SIR:

Mr. Frederick Hartt of New York has pointed out to me an error in my Note, "A Perplexing Panel in the Jacquemart-André Collection in Paris," *THE ART BULLETIN*, xxx, 1948, page 67. Figure 4 is there entitled, "Rome, Vatican. Salle delle Nozze Aldobrandine: Wall Painting, Pasiphae." The painting reproduced is actually one done by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua.

PENELOPE DAWSON  
*Fairfield, Connecticut*

## LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

*Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, Vol. v, Nos. 3-4, July-December, 1947, pp. 205-470, 26 plates. 40 pesetas.

FILIPPO BALDINUCCI, *Vita di Bernini, con uno Studio e a cura di Sergio Samek Ludovici*, Milan, Edizioni del Milione, 1948. 284 pages, 24 plates.

JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER, *John Singleton Copley*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948. 139 pages, colored frontispiece, 32 plates. \$7.50.

ROBIN IRONSIDE, *Pre-Raphaelite Painters*, with a Descriptive catalogue by John Gere, New York and London, Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1948. 49 pages, colored frontispiece, 3 colored plates, 12 illustrations, 94 plates. \$7.50.

JEAN LIPMAN, *American Folk Art*, New York, Pantheon Books, Inc., 1948. 193 pages, 173 illustrations, 4 colored plates, colored frontispiece. \$7.50.

ROBERT C. MCINTYRE, *Martin Johnson Heade*, New York, Pantheon Books, Inc., 1948. 71 pages, 24 plates. \$3.75.

WALTER PACH, *The Art Museum in America, Its*

*History and Achievement*, New York, Pantheon Books, Inc., 1948. 300 pages, 62 illustrations, colored frontispiece. \$6.00.

RUDOLPH ROSENTHAN and HELENA L. RATZKA, *The Story of Modern Applied Art*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1948. 208 pages, 147 illustrations. \$5.00.

*Saitabi*, Universidad Literaria de Valencia, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Valencia, Vol. vi, April-June, 1948, Año VIII, No. 28. Pp. 115-192 and xlix-lx. Foreign subscriptions 60 pesetas a year.

CHARLES SELTMAN, *Approach to Greek Art*, New York and London, The Studio Publications, 1948. 132 pages, 108 plates, 3 supplementary plates. 25 s.

MICHAEL STETTTLER, *Die Kunstdenkmäler Des Kantons Aargau*, Vol. 1, Die Bezirke Aarau, Kulm, Zofingen, Basel, 1948. 427 pages, 326 illustrations. 50 fr. (Swiss).

GASTON WIET, *Soieries Persanes*, Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1947, Vol. 52. 251 pages, 24 plates.



## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor of THE ART BULLETIN, Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University, Fogg Museum, Cambridge 38, Mass. Contributors are advised to retain an accurate carbon copy of their articles.

2. All manuscripts must be typewritten and double-spaced, on one side of the paper only, on sheets of uniform size (preferably 8½ x 11 inches) numbered consecutively.

3. Footnote references in the text should be clearly designated by means of superior figures, placed after the punctuation marks.

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Mary H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, p. 60.

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